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EDITED BY

ALFRED COBBAN, M.A., Ph.D.

Professor of French History in the University of London

Assistant Editor: R. H. C. DAVIS, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford

Hon. Financial Secretary: H. C. DAVIS, M.A.

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EDWARD III AND THE HISTORIANS*

MAY MCKISACK

Westfield College, London

THE PROBLEM BEFORE US is the problem of a historical reputation. Edward III, who ruled England for just over fifty years, was reckoned by many generations of Englishmen to be among the greatest, if not the greatest, of their kings. He was 'the famous and fortunate warrior', whose epitaph in Westminster Abbey declares that he was 'the glory of the English, the flower of kings past, a pattern for kings to come, a clement king, the bringer of peace to his people'. Yet his reputation among historians has now been on the wane for well over a century: and few medievalists today, I think, would lay claim to any very clear impression of his personality; few, indeed, seem to find him interesting. No such neglect has befallen either Edward III's predecessor, Edward II, or his successor, Richard II; and indifference to Edward III as a man, or as a ruler, certainly does not reflect any indifference to the history of his age. But for one reason or another, no modern scholar has felt impelled to analyse his character and policy in any detail, let alone to undertake a full-scale biography. And, so far as I am able to discover, nobody since the eighteenth century has made him the subject of a play, a poem, or even a novel. Richard II has captured the imagination of artists, great and less great; his grandfather has left them cold.

This looks like a strange reversal of fortune. For, even when full allowance has been made for the well-known fact that historians copy one another, the tributes paid to Edward III in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are remarkable, alike in their fervour and in their general consistency. Writing under Henry VIII, Polydore Vergil (a foreigner, after all, and sufficiently sceptical in his approach to some of the heroes of Britain), praises Edward's wisdom, clemency, physical courage and military achievement; though there was a falling-off at the end, he reigned *beatissimus* for forty years.¹ Among the Elizabethan historians, Grafton called Edward 'a valiaunt and Noble Conquerour',² Stow declared that 'in all princely vertues he was so excellent, that few noble men before hys tyme were to bee compared to hym', that he governed his kingdom 'valiantly, wisely and royally'.³ 'Few princes', wrote Speed in the reign of James I, 'that had so great

* The James Bryce Memorial Lecture, delivered at Somerville College, Oxford, on 14 May 1959.

¹ *Historia Anglicæ Libri XXVI* (1649), p. 510.

² *Chronicle* (1568), i. 411.

³ *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles* (1565), f. 111; *The Annales of England* (1600), p. 433.

and heriocke vertues, had fewer vices . . . This most mightie Monarch that euer ware the Crowne of England, in many other felicities excelled his Ancestors . . . , his name ‘is iustly transmitted with honour to all posteritie’.⁴ As for Joshua Barnes, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, who, in 1688, published an immense folio volume on Edward III (still, on balance, the best we have), he carried eulogy to the point of absurdity. His hero ‘had the most virtues and the fewest vices that ever I read of. He was Valiant, Just, Mercifull, Temperate and Wise; the best King, the best Captain, the best Lawgiver, the best Friend, the best Father and the best Husband in his days.’⁵

A slightly more critical note (which may owe something to Barnes’s extravagance) is audible in the next century, but it does not amount to very much. Thomas Carte, in his *General History of England* (1750), comments adversely on Edward’s want of filial piety in condoning his father’s murder; but none the less concludes that England in his day was ‘a nation of heroes’ and that ‘No prince ever had a greater soul or a spirit more worthy of a monarch . . . never was a prince more beloved by his people or more esteemed abroad; his reign was a reign of virtue and honour.’⁶ Some ten years later, the judicious Hume (who wrote more sensibly about Edward III than many before or after him) endeavoured to strike a balance.

The English [Hume observes (in accents unmistakably Scottish)] are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III, and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency. . . .

David Hume, in whose opinion Edward’s wars were neither founded in justice nor directed to any salutary purpose, looked with less complacency on the reign of the victor of Halidon Hill. But he does not question Edward’s outstanding abilities, regarding him as ‘a prince of great capacity, not governed by favourites, not led astray by any unruly passion; sensible that nothing could be more essential to his interests than to keep on good terms with his people’. Thanks to what Hume calls ‘the prudence and vigour’ of Edward’s administration, England enjoyed ‘a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blest with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness . . . his affable and obliging behaviour . . . made them submit with pleasure to his dominion.’⁷

It was with the coming of the Industrial Age that Edward III’s reputation began to slump. Like the smoke now rising from the factory chimneys, the mists of a doctrinaire liberalism rose between historians

⁴ *The Historie of Great Britaine*, 2nd edn. (1623), p. 724.

⁵ *The History of Edward III*, p. 911.

⁶ ii. 388, 537–8.

⁷ *History of England to 1688* (edn. 1894), i. 527, 536.

and the heroes of the past. The Catholic author, John Lingard, who wrote in the 1820s, seems to have been one of the first to suggest the heresy—soon to be accepted as pure orthodoxy—of a fundamental divergence of interest between Edward III and his people. For Lingard, the reign was memorable above all for constitutional progress; but this owed nothing to any deliberate action on the part of the king himself. On the contrary, the disasters which clouded the evening of Edward's life convinced Lingard that his ambition was greater than his judgement. None the less, his wars produced advantages which their author had neither intended nor foreseen, for 'By plunging the king into debt, they rendered him more dependent on the people' . . . 'there was scarcely a grievance for which they did not procure a legal,—and often an effectual,—remedy'.⁸

From Lingard onwards, few historians (though all admit the importance of the reign) have had a good word to say for Edward III. William Longman who, in the middle years of the century, was lecturing on Edward II to the Chorleywood Association for the Improvement of the Labouring Classes, produced his *Life and Times of Edward III* in 1869. At the end of this work Longman adjures his readers not to be dazzled by the victories of Edward and the Black Prince into forgetting their vanity. Though possessed of qualities likely to excite the admiration of unthinking hero-worshippers, neither, in the writer's judgement, had much claim to the commendation of the wise and thoughtful.⁹ The great Bishop Stubbs concurred—in the magisterial pronouncement with which many of us are familiar:

Edward III was not a statesman, though he possessed some qualifications which might have made him a successful one. He was a warrior; ambitious, unscrupulous, selfish, extravagant and ostentatious. His obligations as a king sat very lightly on him. He felt himself bound by no special duty, either to maintain the theory of royal supremacy or to follow a policy which would benefit his people. Like Richard I, he valued England primarily as a source of supplies.

Stubbs allowed great constitutional significance to the reign; but England, in his view, 'owed no gratitude to the king, for patriotism, sagacity or industry'.¹⁰ The third Edward seemed to him vastly inferior to the first. Sir James Ramsay followed Stubbs in describing Edward III as fond of pomp and show, caring nothing for the welfare of his subjects.¹¹ George Unwin effectively demolished Cunningham's attempt to make an honest man of Edward by presenting him as the 'Father of English Commerce'.¹² Tout condemned him for 'a want of relation between end and means', a 'want of policy and clear ideals'.¹³ Even his

⁸ J. Lingard, *A History of England* (edn. 1854), iii. 103–4.

⁹ *Life and Times of Edward III*, ii. 298.

¹⁰ *Constitutional History of England*, 4th edn. (1906), ii. 393–4.

¹¹ *The Genesis of Lancaster* (1913), ii. 67–8.

¹² *Finance and Trade under Edward III* (1918), pp. xiv–xxviii.

¹³ *The History of England, 1216–1377* (1905), p. 313.

military reputation has been roughly handled, notably by Sir Charles Oman, whose verdict that, though a very competent tactician, Edward III was a very unskilful strategist, has found its way into all the textbooks.¹⁴ Little is left of him now, the famous and fortunate warrior. Only within the last few years, some straws in the wind suggest that the verdict of the classical historians may not, after all, prove to be final.

Some obvious reasons for this *bouleversement* in historical opinion after the end of the eighteenth century at once suggest themselves. Lingard wrote in the full tide of reaction after the Napoleonic wars; Stubbs, Ramsay and the younger Tout in an age when war was highly unfashionable, when no living Englishman could remember a warrior king, when to say of a ruler that he was, by choice, a soldier, was as much as to say that he could not be a statesman. The victor of Crécy made little appeal to a school of historians as deeply suspicious of the aristocratic qualities—prowess, magnificence and open-handedness—as they were respectful of the bourgeois virtues—thrift, sobriety and caution. Moreover, the tendency, which critics have so often remarked (and exaggerated) in the work of Stubbs and his contemporaries, to read back into the Middle Ages the political and constitutional notions of the nineteenth century, has had a peculiarly adverse effect on the reputation of Edward III. Many students of this reign seem to have taken it for granted that his policy ought to have been guided by some abstract principle—the advancement of the royal prerogative, the limitation of feudal privilege, the expansion of the national economy and so forth: and Edward III has been widely condemned for opportunism and short-sightedness. It is easy for us to see that the war with France which he began, ended over a hundred years later in a defeat for England which now looks inevitable; that his policy of lavishly endowing his sons opened the way for dynastic rivalries between their descendants; that his concessions to his barons and to parliament had the ultimate effect of weakening the Crown and strengthening the nobility and the commons. It has been assumed that it was Edward's duty to take long views in these matters, to consider the interests of posterity, even at the cost of foregoing immediate advantage. But how could a king placed as Edward III was placed take long views? He had to deal with immediate practical necessities, with formidable rivals, with urgent and dangerous predicaments. Like every other conscientious man of property, he felt bound, of course, to make careful provision for his family; and since his heir, the Black Prince (and, for that matter, all his sons), was in full accord with him, he had little cause for dynastic anxieties. But, provision for his family apart, his own situation and the whole mental climate of his age would naturally incline him to look backwards rather than forwards; and, as I hope to suggest, his wisdom nowhere shows to better advantage than in his ability to profit by the lessons of experience. Historians whose whole thinking has been conditioned by notions of

¹⁴ *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (1924), ii. 111.

development, evolution and progress, sometimes find it hard to recognize fully or to remember consistently that these meant nothing to medieval man, that the medieval view of this world was, on the whole, pessimistic, and that, if medieval rulers thought about such things at all, they were much less likely to think of themselves as links in a chain, or as trustees for the future, than as men living at the end of an age—of the great age of Greece and Rome, of Brutus and Arthur, whose unworthy inheritors they were—or, under the shadow of an apocalypse that must bring the temporal order to an end.

And even if we are prepared to try to judge Edward III realistically, we are still confronted with the difficulty of doing so. All the great figures of the past, in some degree, elude our understanding; but obscurity is relative. A vivid and remarkably consistent picture of the second Edward (for example) emerges from the sources; and if Richard II still remains a puzzle this is not for want of copious material on which to form a judgement. But Edward III in the days of his glory is hidden from us by the cloud of contemporary adulation; significantly enough, the occasion on which he most nearly comes alive is during the crisis of 1340-1 when, for once, he lost his head. That his contemporaries should have found in him so little to criticize is, of course, in itself a very important piece of evidence; but it makes it no easier to understand the king's psychology. His motives, his intentions, his policy (if he had one) have, in the main, to be inferred from his actions: for the chroniclers are too partial to be really illuminating; and the king's own correspondence with the popes, or the kings of France, for example, and the speeches he is reported to have made in parliament and elsewhere, more often than not were of a propagandist nature, devised to conceal the motives and intentions which they purport to reveal. The older historians, like Speed and Joshua Barnes, took Froissart and the rest at their face value and produced a picture of a latter-day King Arthur, only a little less unconvincing than the vain and shifty egotist portrayed by some of their successors. Today, we have to admit that, with the evidence at our disposal, it is seldom possible to be sure why Edward III acted as he did in any given situation and what were his ultimate objectives. But if this caveat is borne in mind, it is permissible to hazard a few guesses and to suggest some points for his reappraisal.

The fundamental factor conditioning the policy of Edward III was, surely, the deposition of Edward II; for this is the great divide in our later medieval history, the greatest since 1066; and comparisons and contrasts between Edward I, who stands on one side of this gulf, and Edward III, who stands on the other, are not very helpful if they leave it out of account. King John, for all his troubles, had died a king. King Henry III had emerged from the long conflict with Simon de Montfort with his position unimpaired, his prerogative undiminished. The task of his successor was merely to consolidate a victory. But King Edward II had been driven from his throne and subsequently murdered by

rebellious barons acting together with his queen. The monarchy had been shown to be vulnerable, in the last resort completely so; the kings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were on the defensive as their predecessors had never been. The most urgent need for Edward II's successor was the need, at all costs, to prevent a recurrence of the disaster of 1326–7. And although we have not much direct evidence about the mental processes of Edward III, there is little in his policy that cannot plausibly be explained on the hypothesis of a settled determination not to repeat his father's mistakes, to retrieve what his father had lost. Edward III could not afford to take long views; he had to secure his throne. And who can doubt that it was in the best interests of his people that he should secure it firmly?

The first essential was to hold the royal family together. Isabella, the she-wolf of France, cannot have been easy to hold; but his failure to hold her had been Edward II's undoing; and it was not only his queen who had deserted Edward at the last. His half-brothers of Kent and Norfolk joined the rebels of 1326 and his son and heir (who was by no means too young to know what was afoot) had connived at his deposition and afterwards at his murder. Good fortune gave Edward III an incomparable queen in Philippa of Hainault; but good fortune alone will not explain his remarkable—almost unparalleled—achievement in retaining throughout a long life the unswerving loyalty of the five of his sons who grew to manhood. Complete harmony seems to have reigned within the family circle, a harmony emphasized by many contemporary writers, none of whom lets fall so much as a hint of discord or disobedience. Thus, unlike his ancestor, Henry II, Edward could use his sons as his trusted lieutenants, at home, in Ireland, in the wars abroad: it was evidently to his advantage to strengthen them territorially. The so-called 'fatal appanage policy', whereby (for example) the Black Prince acquired the earldom of Chester, the principality of Wales and the earldom (later the duchy) of Cornwall; Lionel of Antwerp the honour of Clare and a title to the Irish lands of the de Burghs; John of Gaunt the vast estates of the house of Lancaster; and Thomas of Woodstock half the lands of the Bohuns, enabled the House of Plantagenet to show a solid front to the world and ensured that the natural leaders of the baronage should be the princes of the blood. Edward III's consolidation of wealth and influence in the hands of sons who, at least in his lifetime, showed no disposition to quarrel with one another, went far to procure the 'interval of domestic peace and tranquillity' so rightly stressed by Hume. It was, perhaps, the most important stabilizing factor in a long reign.

In his dealings with the body of his magnates, Edward III, whose tastes were aristocratic and conventional, not plebeian and eccentric, was luckier than his father; but here again, good luck is not the whole story. Of far greater importance was the magnanimity which he displayed towards enemies and friends alike; for he was, as his people acknow-

ledged, a clement king (*rex clemens*): the ugly streak of vindictiveness which manifests itself in so many of his line is nowhere discernible in him. Thus, though it was essential for him to be rid of Roger Mortimer before he could begin to rule at all, the young Edward III allowed no victimization of Mortimer's adherents. As the reign proceeded, heirs of former traitors, like Arundel, Bohun, Beauchamp, even Mortimer himself, were pardoned and rehabilitated; and Edward's one serious quarrel with an important magnate, the wordy battle waged with Archbishop Stratford in the winter of 1340-1, ended in complete reconciliation. Magnanimity brought its own rewards, for the baronage, like the royal family, rallied to a king whom they could trust; and Edward never needed to fear a stab in the back while he was fighting his enemies in France, still less any betrayal of his interests there. The principal magnates who were with him in his first campaigns—men like the earls of Derby, Suffolk and Northampton—were with him in his last; and (what is even more remarkable) we hear nothing of rivalries or contention among them. This mutual loyalty doubtless owed much to the king's own character; but it also owed something to his deliberate action. Stubbs dismissed the foundation of the Order of the Garter in a couple of lines and modern historians generally have given Edward little credit for the ingenuity of this device. The exclusiveness of the Order (which consisted of only twenty-six knights, including the Sovereign) lent it a rare distinction. Within its charmed circle how could criticism of the monarch, or of one knight by another, look anything but uncourteous, treason anything but the shameful breach of a sacred code of honour? Its famous motto—*Honi soit qui mal y pense*—was, in the words of its historian, Elias Ashmole, intended by Edward to retort 'Shame and Defiance upon him that should dare to think amiss of so just an Enterprize as he had undertaken for recovering his lawful Right to that Crown' (of France).¹⁵ By thus reviving a romantic tradition in association with his own birthplace at Windsor and assuming—deliberately, perhaps, but almost certainly not cynically—the rôle of a second Arthur, Edward harnessed the idealism of chivalry to his cause and bound to himself under an obligation of honour nearly all the greatest names in the land.

Yet the fourteenth-century baron, however lofty his conception of the obligations of knighthood, was no mere romantic and Round Tables were not enough. Recognizing that his magnates were no less eager than himself to increase their own wealth and prestige and to promote the interests of their families, Edward III put few obstacles in the way of their personal and dynastic ambitions. To his friend, Henry of Lancaster, he conceded virtually royal rights in Lancashire. He did not attempt to check, or interfere with, the expanding system of liveried retainers; and by licensing many 'enfeoffments to uses' he allowed his tenants an unprecedented degree of freedom in the disposal of their

¹⁵ *The History of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (1715), p. 126.

lands and reduced their dependence upon himself. His reign undoubtedly saw a steady build-up of baronial, alongside of monarchical power; but there was no reason why Edward III should have viewed these developments with apprehension. The old animosities between king and barons had been dissipated, he may well have hoped, for ever. The magnates whom he thus trusted and honoured were no longer his rivals; they were his brothers-in-arms, his friends, to whom his nature prompted him to be generous. He had his reward in his own lifetime; and it was natural to suppose that a similar policy would serve the interests of the son whom he expected to succeed him—the famous Black Prince whose popularity equalled and (towards the end of the reign) even surpassed his own. Why should he have guarded against a future which no man then living could foresee?

As for what Stubbs called Edward's vanity and ostentation and Ramsay his love of pomp and show, the king was wiser in these matters than his critics. It needed no unusual insight to perceive the consequences to the monarchy of Edward II's deliberate flouting of the social conventions of his age, of his indulgence in simple and economical pleasures, like swimming and boating and thatching and ditching. Such eccentricities not only offended the pride of the aristocracy; they outraged the whole nation. Medieval kings were expected to live splendidly, to show themselves open-handed, to indulge in kingly sports. Tournaments and joustings, hunting-parties and balls satisfied the craving of the rich for lavish entertainment and brought colour and romance to town and countryside. Edward III fulfilled all expectations. A tournament of unparalleled splendour took place at Windsor in 1336 to celebrate the birth of the king's son, William: after the fall of Calais no fewer than nineteen tournaments were held in different places up and down the country; the capture of King John of France at Poitiers occasioned another, by torchlight, at Bristol; and similar carousals attended the session of parliament in 1358. These spectacles were not cheap and the demands of the royal purveyors provoked resentment in many quarters. But, as Edward III was doubtless well aware, they were an effective specific against political disorder; and it would be hard to point to another period of comparable length in our medieval history which saw so little open criticism of the court.

Edward III forestalled criticism, not only by behaving as a king was expected to behave, but also because, for all his extravagance, he was, as Hume recognized, 'not governed by favourites, nor led astray by unruly passion'. Here again (it seems reasonable to suppose), he was quick to profit by experience, to recognize the disastrous consequences of his father's inordinate affections. It is true that in the early stages of the war he allowed some unacceptable officials, like William Kilsby, to get above themselves; but for many years after the crisis of 1341, which his indiscretion had helped to provoke, he avoided exposing himself to public criticism on account of ministers or favourites. His chancellors,

treasurers and keepers of the privy seal, most of whom were churchmen, showed themselves, on the whole, both capable and discreet, content to serve for moderate rewards and without claiming the kind of intimacy and special privilege that had ruined Peter Gaveston and the younger Despenser and was later to ruin Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere. William Edington, who was the best of them, was certainly a good friend to the king, for he was largely responsible for the successful financing of the war in the years of victory; but he is also described as a good friend to the commons. The rapid rise of William of Wykeham (already a notorious pluralist) to be chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, provoked some understandable resentment in ecclesiastical circles; and the extent of his influence in the 'sixties when, according to Froissart, 'all things were done by him and without him nothing was done',¹⁶ may point to a decline in Edward's own initiative. Yet even Wykeham was always a favoured clerk, rather than a royal favourite; and when, in 1371, he was driven from office by those who mistrusted the conduct of affairs, particularly of foreign affairs, by churchmen, he remained on good terms with his critics and was not personally disgraced. Sordid tales of harpies and courtiers battenning on an old king in his decline have too often been allowed to obliterate all memory of the thirty years during which Edward III and his court were almost completely free from censure.

The clamour for lay ministers of state set up in 1371 was the nearest approach to a parliamentary crisis that Edward III had had to face since his youth. Time and again, under Edward II, the barons had made use of parliament to humiliate the king; and in 1341 it had looked as though history might repeat itself. But Edward III emerged unscathed from this crisis and for a generation thereafter, despite some open and doubtless much subterranean grumbling about his war taxation, he and his parliaments succeeded in pulling together. Lingard and Stubbs were right, of course, in stressing that Edward had to buy his supplies at the price of concessions to the commons who, by 1362, had secured control of the wool tax and had broken, or helped to break, the power of the monopolists to whom the king had looked for accommodation in the early years of the war. Weighty constitutional precedents had been put on record, if not finally established. Far more important for Edward III, however, was the readiness of the commons, by and large, to give him what he wanted; and he had little reason to fear a body which he himself knew how to handle with such consummate skill. Grievances in plenty were voiced and redress insistently demanded; but the impression left by the Rolls is of a fundamental goodwill persisting between the king and his parliaments: Edward's plan was to present the war as a national enterprise undertaken in defence of his lawful claim to the French Crown; and, though the commons were by no means blind to the financial implications of accepting this version of his policy,

¹⁶ Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, iv. 205.

they recognized that they were being given value for their money and, in the last resort, they never let him down. Edward, for his part, treated them with studied courtesy, thanking them, as in 1351, for the great love which they had always shown him, for the large aids and subsidies which they had granted him and for all that they had sustained, both in body and goods for the maintenance of the war and the defence of the realm; and professing himself eager to promote their ease and comfort. He did not flout or insult them, after the manner of his successor; he did not make speeches about his prerogative; in the parliament chamber, no less than on the battlefield, he knew when to exert pressure and when to relax it, when to advance, when to withdraw. If he was not a constitutional strategist, he was a parliamentary tactician of a very high order. What medieval (or, for that matter, what modern) ruler, after nearly thirty years of war and heavy taxation, could have wrung from the commons such a tribute as that paid to Edward III in the parliament of 1363?

Sire, the commons thank their liege lord, so far as they know and can, for the graces, pardons and goodwill shown to them . . . and they beg that it may please him to continue them, as to his lieges who from their hearts entirely thank God, who has given them such a lord and governor, who has delivered them from servitude to other lands and from the charges sustained by them in times past.¹⁷

'If he had devoted to arms', a contemporary biographer of Edward II had written, 'the labour that he expended on rustic pursuits, he would have raised England aloft; his name would have resounded throughout the land.'¹⁸ Reflecting on the dismal tale of national disaster that had been the background to his own childhood and youth—in the north, Bannockburn, the loss of Berwick, the rout at Myton, the *turpis pax* with the Scots at Northampton, in the south, the bungled war of St. Sardos and the loss of the Agenais to Charles IV—Edward III may well have pondered these words, or others like them. Does his determination to recover what his father had thrown away really prove him vain-glorious and wanting in true patriotism? Certainly the wretched inhabitants of the Border shires did not think so, as they became aware that here was a king who cared for their plight, as they saw Halidon Hill wipe out the memory of Bannockburn and the King of Scots taken prisoner at Neville's Cross. Certainly those living in southern England did not think so, as they learned of the destruction of the French fleet off Sluys and saw the danger of invasion recede from their coasts. Certainly the people generally did not think so, as they heard of the rout of the French army at Crécy, of the surrender of the rich town of Calais, of the capture of King John at Poitiers. Stubbs said of Edward III that he felt himself bound by no special duty to maintain the theory of royal supremacy. But what theory could he possibly have maintained that

¹⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 276.

¹⁸ *Vita Edwardi Secundi*, ed. N. Denholm-Young (1957), p. 40.

would have vindicated that supremacy half so effectively as a victorious war? Systematic consolidation of the rights and prerogatives of the Crown by legislative and administrative action, a policy akin to that pursued by Edward I, was not open to his grandson, a king on the defensive. Any such policy must have entailed attacks on vested interests and invasions of the liberties and, since the magnates had now tasted royal blood, the likelihood of a renewal of civil war, even, perhaps, of another deposition. It cannot be mere coincidence that the only two successful kings of the later Middle Ages were the fighting kings. Edward III, and Henry V after him, understood that they had been born into a military society; they knew that so long as the balance of power in the state was held by a military aristocracy that had proved its strength against the monarchy, the almost certain alternative to war abroad was war at home. On these grounds alone we may question Stubbs's further judgement that Edward III felt himself bound by no special duty to follow a policy which would benefit his people; for, in so far as his foreign wars averted the horrors of domestic conflict, all Edward's people were the gainers by them. We may rather agree with Hume that since 'his valour and conduct made (the magnates) successful in most of their enterprises, their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined'. Edward III has been condemned as a poor strategist; but, whatever may be thought of that judgement, his strategy at least sufficed to protect his people, not only from civil war, but also from foreign invasion. For Edward never neglected home defences when he went abroad, and Neville's Cross, in 1346, put an end to the danger from the Scots; while, in the south, there were no enemy raids of any consequence between 1340 and the last year of the reign.

And was Edward III really such a poor strategist? Recent work, it is satisfactory to note, shows a tendency to exculpate him from this familiar charge. Professor Le Patourel has argued that it was his considered policy to take advantage of internal divisions in France by consolidating his hold on the outlying provinces which formed part of, or were dependent on, the French kingdom.¹⁹ Henry of Lancaster's brilliant campaigns in Gascony restored the situation there; the Anglo-Flemish alliance and the capture of Calais gave Edward a base in the north-east; Normandy was reconquered in the campaign of 1346; and the succession war in Brittany made possible the establishment of English garrisons in the north-west. In 1359–60, Edward launched an all-out assault on the heart of France, hoping thereby to secure control of Burgundy and his own coronation at Rheims. Here he over-reached himself; but his failure was not the result of any failure to plan intelligently. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Burne, who wrote with the experience of a professional soldier, described Edward as 'a master of strategy', drawing particular attention to the skill with which he chose his generals and to

¹⁹ 'Edward III and the Kingdom of France', *ante*, xliv (1958), 173–89.

his ability to force the enemy to battle at his own will.²⁰ Even to unprofessionals, the argument that the great victories were the result of hasty improvisation on the battlefield sounds unconvincing. And the close co-operation and friendship persisting between Edward and his generals afforded the essential prerequisite for long-term strategical planning.

But, even if it be conceded that Edward III was a better general than has often been supposed, this does not redeem him from the charge of wanton war-mongering. Underlying much criticism of his whole policy there is undoubtedly the conviction that the war with France was morally reprehensible. Even in the fourteenth century, there were moralists (Wyclif was one of them) who held the English invasion of France to be a sin;²¹ and on any showing, it is hard to see that Edward III can escape responsibility for the untold sufferings which his armies brought to the invaded lands. But the Christian Church had long since come to terms with war; and Edward had almost certainly persuaded himself, and had certainly persuaded the majority of his subjects, that his claim to the French Crown was legitimate and that the war which he was waging, ostensibly in its defence, was one of those just conflicts which the Church condoned. It would have been strange had he thought otherwise; for his bishops never withheld their blessing from his expeditions and it was inevitable that a people accustomed to trials by battle should read the victories as judgements of God. And, once satisfied as to the justice of the cause, why—by any standards that they could conceivably have recognized as valid—should fourteenth-century Englishmen have shrunk from war? Almost all their heroes were warriors—Alexander and Arthur and Troilus and that Theseus of Athens, who might serve as a figure of Edward III himself—

... swich a conquerour
That gretter was ther noon under the sonne.
Ful many a riche contree had he wonne.²²

Knighthood, by common consent, was the noblest profession open to the layman; and the knights' training in the lists was designed to equip them for deeds of valour on the battlefield. Campaigning in France offered scope for the exercise of professional skill, a prospect of adventure, the chance to win renown. For the victors at least, medieval warfare was highly enjoyable; and in Edward III the warriors of England recognized a king whose standards and ideals matched exactly with their own.

Still, it was not quite true, of course, that

England all Olivers and Rowlands bred,
During the time Edward the Third did reign,²³

²⁰ *The Crecy War* (1955), p. 10 *et passim*.

²¹ *De Ecclesia*, ed. J. Loserth (1886), p. 427.

²² Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* ('The Knight's Tale'), ll. 862-4.

²³ Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part I*, Act I, Sc. 2.

or that the rewards of war were all in the nature of intangibles. On a lower plane, kings, princes, barons, knights, squires, archers and common soldiers were, in a sense, partners in a great profit-sharing enterprise. By the time of Crécy, serving soldiers of all ranks were paid, usually at rates which compared very favourably with those offered for civilian labour. And if (as often happened) the soldier's pay was in arrears, he might confidently expect to supplement it from the spoils of war. For, if he returned alive from one of the great campaigns, he would be unlucky indeed if he returned with empty pockets. Long and bitter experience had taught the Scots how to frustrate an enemy bent on pillage; but the people of Normandy (for instance), as Geoffrey of Harcourt is said to have reminded Edward III, had not been used to war.²⁴ Many of their towns were unwalled and they had little notion of how to save their property from the invader. Walsingham tells us that after the fall of Calais it seemed to the English as though a new sun had arisen, 'because of the plenitude of goods and the glory of the victories.'²⁵ The work of Mr. McFarlane and Professor Denys Hay has given us some idea of the enormous sums demanded as ransoms by the victors in the Hundred Years War and has shown how their distribution has become a matter of elaborate regulation by the end of the reign of Edward III.²⁶ As for the sums paid to the king himself on account of the ransoms of the Kings of France and Scotland, these were on a scale which made it possible for the commons in parliament to suggest that the time had come when the war should pay for itself.²⁷ We may well recoil from these tales of barefaced robbery; but they have to be set against the suggestion that the war meant nothing for England but an unproductive drain of capital.

Individual profiteering, even by the king, might, however, be dismissed as relatively insignificant if (as seems often to be assumed) it could be demonstrated that Edward III's wars inflicted lasting damage on the national economy. The economic condition of fourteenth-century England is a complex and controversial subject; but it is at least arguable that—except for the damage to the wine-trade with Gascony—the war had no more than very temporarily adverse effects on the economy. Nobody nowadays would wish to revert to Cunningham and portray Edward III as the Father of English Commerce, or even to suggest that, if the economic consequences of his wars were less devastating than has sometimes been supposed, this was much thanks to him. But the suggestion that his selfish opportunism in going to war resulted in the material ruin of his people, should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. For it seems clear that, as agricultural production contracted, so did the number of mouths to be fed; as the great landlord's profits from his demesnes decreased, those of the yeoman farmer and

²⁴ Froissart, iv. 381.

²⁵ *Historia Anglicana*, i. 272.

²⁶ Ransoms were discussed by Mr. K. B. McFarlane in his (unpublished) Ford Lectures for 1953. See also D. Hay, in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 4th ser. iv (1954), 91–109.

²⁷ *Rot. Parl.*, ii. 323.

prosperous bondman rose; as the export trade in raw wool declined, that in half-finished cloth expanded. Edward III's own reign certainly ended in a period of slump—economic, as well as military and political, a fact which may go far to explain the slump in his reputation. But recovery was rapid; and the overall picture of the economy in the last decade of the century is not, it seems to me, a picture of depression. The standard of living then maintained by the governing classes was as high as—possibly higher than—it had been in the age of high farming a hundred years before. There were flourishing merchant communities in London, York, Coventry, Hull and several other towns. Large sections of the peasantry were prospering; and there is general agreement that the revolt of 1381 drew much of its impetus from men who were rising in the world—from men (we may note) who flew the banner of St. George, whose *gravamina* contain no hint of pacifist sentiment and who probably owed at least something of their astonishing, if short-lived, success to their training in the wars. A series of devastating plagues had combined with other factors which remain largely imponderable to reduce the population drastically; but it seems likely that for many of the survivors, life was easier than it had ever been before.

If what has been said has sounded too much like special pleading, if little stress has been laid on the failings of Edward III, this is only because, unlike his merits, they are in no need of emphasis. His rash attack on Stratford in 1340–1, his unscrupulous dealings with both native and foreign financiers, the military and parliamentary reverses of his declining years, his association with Alice Perrers and the corruption of his court, are in no danger of being forgotten. It may freely be admitted, further, that as a patron of the arts Edward III was inferior to Henry III, as a lawgiver to Edward I, as a man of business to Henry VII, that even as a soldier, he was probably inferior to Henry V; and that he was neither original nor profound. Yet when all is said, his achievement remains impressive. He retrieved the dignity of the monarchy without forfeiting the affections of his people, who had to thank him for over thirty years of internal peace, for the restoration of their self-respect and for the winning of a military reputation in Europe which has seldom been equalled and seldom (if ever) surpassed. 'When the noble Edward first gained England in his youth,' wrote a contemporary canon of Liège, Jean le Bel, 'nobody thought much of the English, nobody spoke of their prowess and courage. . . . Now, in the time of the noble Edward, who has often put them to the test, they are the finest and most daring warriors known to man.'²⁸ Many aspects of the wars of Edward III must seem repellent to us—the wanton destruction, the looting of civilians, the fantastic traffic in ransoms—and it will seem to many that these things look worse, not better, for being covered by the elaborate courtesies and scruples of the code of chivalry. Yet a war in which brave men took up arms in defence of a cause which they believed

²⁸ Jean le Bel, *Chroniques*, i. 155–6.

to be just was not altogether ignoble; and some of the heroes of this war—the ‘good duke’, Henry of Lancaster, Sir John Chandos, Sir Walter Manny and the Black Prince himself—would have been heroes in any other. Their victories and the victories of the king who led them may have been ephemeral in themselves; but they were to become part of that stock of common memories which contribute to the making of a nation and uphold it in times of stress. Nobody today would describe Edward III as the greatest of English kings; but the historians have judged him too harshly. For all his failings, it remains hard to deny an element of greatness in him, a courage and magnanimity which go far to sustain the verdict of one of the older writers that he was ‘a Prince who knew his work and did it’.²⁹

²⁹ Samuel Daniel, *Works*, ed. Grosart, v. 288.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY IN BRITAIN, 1780-1850: A REAPPRAISAL

A. J. TAYLOR

University College, London

'[Before the Industrial Revolution] the workers enjoyed a comfortable and peaceful existence. . . . Their standard of life was much better than that of the factory worker today.' F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845).¹

'If we look back to the condition of the mass of the people as it existed in this country, even so recently as the beginning of the present century, and then look around us at the indications of greater comfort and respectability that meet us on every side, it is hardly possible to doubt that here, in England at least, the elements of social improvement have been successfully at work, and that they have been and are producing an increased amount of comfort to the great bulk of the people.' G. R. Porter, *The Progress of the Nation*, 2nd edn. (1847).²

i

DID THE CONDITION of the working classes improve or deteriorate during the period of rapid industrial change between 1780 and 1850? The controversy is as old as the Industrial Revolution itself. For men like Andrew Ure and Thomas Carlyle, as for Porter and Engels, the issue was one of contemporary politics. While Ure, a nineteenth-century Dr. Pangloss, so admired the new industrial order that he could compare factory children to 'lively elves' at play,³ Carlyle saw the world of the millhand as 'but a dingy prison-house, of rebellious unthrift, rebellion, rancour, indignation against themselves and against all men'.⁴ Even among the classical economists there was a sharp division of opinion. On the one hand were those like Porter, whose optimism had its roots in the doctrines of *The Wealth of Nations*; on the other those whose pessimism reflected the less sanguine approach of Malthus and Ricardo.

With the marked improvement in national prosperity which Britain experienced in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the debate lost something of its early vigour and urgency. The statistical investiga-

¹ Trans. W. O. Henderson and W. H. Chaloner (Oxford, 1958), p. 10.

² P. 532.

³ A. Ure, *Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835), p. 301.

⁴ T. Carlyle, *Chartism* (1839), p. 35.

tions of Leone Levi and Sir Robert Giffen⁵ tended to confirm what the observation of contemporaries already suggested: that, in common with the nation at large, the working classes were enjoying a perceptibly higher standard of living in 1875 than twenty-five years earlier. The will to resist the tide of industrial growth was declining as its benefits became more apparent, and with the logic of time the controversy was passing from the hands of the publicists and reformers into those of the economic historians.

The transition was, however, by no means an immediate one. Thorold Rogers, an early historian of the Industrial Revolution, in 1884 welcomed the return of the political economist 'to his proper and ancient function, that of interpreting the causes which hinder the just and adequate distribution of wealth'.⁶ To Rogers the years of rapid industrial change were a 'dismal period' for the working classes, and the quarter century after 1790 'the worst time in the whole history of English labour'.⁷ Arnold Toynbee's verdict echoed that of Rogers. 'We now approach', he said, 'a darker period—a period as disastrous and as terrible as any through which a nation ever passed; disastrous and terrible because side by side with a great increase of wealth was seen an enormous increase of pauperism'.⁸ In both these interpretations the voice of the social reformer mingles with that of the historian: and the view thus firmly expressed commanded general acceptance for more than a generation. It is to be found as much in the writings of Ashley and Cunningham as in those of the Webbs and the Hammonds.

It was not until after the first world war that a new and less dismal note was struck.⁹ Then within the short space of little more than a year the pessimists' interpretation was four times put to serious question. In her *London Life of the Eighteenth Century*,¹⁰ Mrs. Dorothy George argued, largely on the basis of mortality statistics, that the standard of life of the London labourer had improved considerably in the course of the eighteenth century. This thesis was reinforced and extended a year later in the work of Miss M. C. Buer¹¹ and G. Talbot Griffith.¹² Each found evidence of a declining death-rate in the country as a whole between 1750 and 1850, and from this drew the general conclusion that living standards were rising. At the same time an even more powerful 'optimist'¹³ entered the lists. From the evidence of nineteenth-century wage

⁵ L. Levi, *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (1885); R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance, Second Series* (1886), pp. 365–474.

⁶ Thorold Rogers, preface to abridged version of *Work and Wages* (1885).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 128.

⁸ A. Toynbee, *The Industrial Revolution* (1884), p. 84.

⁹ For a possible anticipation of Clapham's conclusion (see below), see *Dictionary of Political Economy*, 2nd edn. (1908), iii. 802 (A. L. Bowley's article).

¹⁰ Pubd. 1925.

¹¹ M. C. Buer, *Health, Wealth and Population in the Early Days of the Industrial Revolution* (1926).

¹² G. T. Griffith, *Population Problems of the Age of Malthus* (1926).

¹³ The terms 'pessimist' and 'optimist', though not wholly apposite, have now obtained general currency. They are certainly preferable to the alternatives 'classical' and 'modern' recently used. The so-called 'modern' theory of improving living standards has as long an ancestry as its 'classical' antithesis.

statistics and commodity prices, Sir John Clapham concluded that the purchasing power of the English labourer in town and country had risen substantially between 1785 and 1850.¹⁴

This new turn in the controversy not only redressed the balance of forces, but, by reintroducing the statistical weapon, revived methods of argument largely disused since the days of Rogers and Giffen. Where the Hammonds, like Engels before them, turned to the evidence of the blue books and the pamphleteers, Mrs. George and Griffith appealed to the bills of mortality, and Clapham to the wage books. Faced with so great a display of statistical force, J. L. Hammond conceded—though not uncritically—this part of the field.¹⁵ He was content to rest his case on the written and verbal testimony of contemporaries to the physical and spiritual suffering which, he contended, had been the inevitable concomitant of the new order. Men might have more food for their bellies and cheaper clothing for their backs but the price exacted for these benefits was out of all proportion to the gains. ‘The spirit of wonder . . . could not live at peace in treadmill cities where the daylight never broke upon the beauty and the wisdom of the world.’¹⁶

As a *via media* between two hitherto irreconcilable viewpoints, Hammond’s compromise was readily accepted by writers of general histories, and it has retained an unshaken place in their affections; but it could be no final settlement of the debate. Thirty years now separate us from the work of Clapham and Hammond. In those years discussion has continued sporadically but vigorously. Most recently T. S. Ashton and E. J. Hobsbawm, in particular, have opened up new fields of evidence and lines of enquiry. It is appropriate to ask how far their findings have changed the broad pattern of argument and interpretation.

ii

Of the twin sides of the debate that which relates to the qualitative aspects of the labourer’s life has, not surprisingly, made least progress.¹⁷ The bleakness and degradation of much urban life in the early nineteenth century needs no underlining. The mean streets and insanitary houses still surviving in many industrial towns, and the mute desolation of large areas of South Wales and the West Midlands are as eloquent testimony to the drabness of nineteenth-century life as are the pages of the parliamentary reports. This was an England ‘built in a hurry’ and with little thought for the health and wellbeing of its rapidly growing multitudes. But, as J. D. Chambers has observed:¹⁸ ‘Whatever the merits of the pre-industrial world may have been, they were enjoyed by a

¹⁴ J. H. Clapham, *Economic History of Modern Britain*, i. (1926), pp. 128, 466, 560–2.

¹⁵ J. L. Hammond, ‘The Industrial Revolution and Discontent’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, ii (1930), 215–28.

¹⁶ J. L. and B. Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists* (1930), p. 365.

¹⁷ For a recent re-statement of the issues, on the whole favourable to the pessimistic viewpoint, see W. Woodruff, ‘Capitalism and the Historians: A Contribution to the Discussion on the Industrial Revolution in England’, *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, xvi (1956), 1–17.

¹⁸ J. D. Chambers, *The Vale of Trent 1670–1800* (*Econ. Hist. Rev. Supplements*, 3, n.d.), p. 63.

deplorably small proportion of those born into it.' If the industrial towns carried the seeds of physical and spiritual death for some, they also brought new life and opportunity to others. Not only did the towns ultimately give enhanced possibilities of physical health and enjoyment to the many; they also provided those widening cultural opportunities which, side by side with more debasing attractions, have come to distinguish the urban societies of the modern world. The older generation perhaps suffered most in the upheavals and disorders of early industrial development: for the younger and more adaptable the transition may not all have been disenchantment. But at this point argument comes close to dogmatism, for the historian's assessment of gain and loss must inevitably be coloured by his personal value judgements and predilections.

This overriding difficulty is not entirely absent from the parallel controversy about material living standards; but here at least the historian can appeal to the statistics. Although this particular oracle is in no sense infallible—too often it is mute or, when vocal, ambiguous—it offers some firm foundations for argument. It is essential, therefore, at this point, that we examine, however briefly, the main types of statistical evidence available to the historian.

The most direct route to the assessment of changing living standards lies through the measurement of the movement of real wages. Real wages relate money earnings to retail prices, and their movement, therefore, reflects the changing purchasing power of the consumer. Clapham's calculation of the movement of real wages suggests that the purchasing power of the industrial worker rose by some 16 per cent between 1790 and 1840, and by 70 per cent over the slightly longer period from 1790 to 1850.¹⁹ In the same periods the real earnings of farm-workers increased by 22 per cent and 60 per cent.²⁰ These assessments were based on the wage statistics assembled at the beginning of the present century by A. L. Bowley and G. H. Wood, and on a cost-of-living index computed by N. J. Silberling. Since Clapham's guarded findings were published, however, Silberling's index has been tested and found wanting,²¹ and its rejection has inevitably invalidated the conclusions which Clapham based upon it.

Where Silberling failed, others have ventured with little greater success.²² But even were a satisfactory cost-of-living index established, and in the nature of things this would seem unlikely, it would still leave unsolved the equally complex problem of devising a satisfactory general index of working-class earnings. Here, as in the case of prices, the fundamental obstacle is the insufficiency and unreliability of the surviving

¹⁹ Based on Clapham, p. 561.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

²¹ See especially T. S. Ashton, 'The Standard of Life of the Workers in England, 1790-1830', *Jour. Econ. Hist.*, Supplement ix (1949), 29-30.

²² E.g. E. W. Gilboy, 'The Cost of Living and Real Wages in Eighteenth-Century England', *Rev. Econ. Statistics*, xviii (1936), 134-43; R. S. Tucker, 'Real Wages of Artisans in London, 1729-1935', *Jour. Amer. Statistical Soc.* (1936), 73-84.

evidence; but additional difficulties arise from the changing structure of the labour force—there were virtually no factory operatives in cotton in 1780, for example, and few surviving domestic workers in the industry seventy years later—and the problem of assessing the incidence of rural and urban employment. Our knowledge of the extent and nature of mid-nineteenth-century unemployment remains limited, notwithstanding the light thrown upon the subject by recent investigations.²³ For the eighteenth century even this modicum of evidence is lacking, and a basis for comparison between the two periods in consequence hardly exists.

It seems, therefore, that despite its attractiveness, the approach to the standard of living question through the measurement of real wages must be abandoned. The movement of real wages can be determined within acceptable limits of error only in the case of certain restricted occupational groups: for the working class as a whole the margin of error is such as to preclude any dependable calculation.

A more promising approach is provided by attempts to establish changes in the pattern of working-class consumption. This method has a long and respectable ancestry—it was employed, for example, by both Giffen and Levi—but its application to the period before 1840 has only recently been attempted. It is perhaps primarily on the basis of their investigations in this field that Professor Ashton reaches the conclusion that towards the end of the eighteenth century ‘in some important respects the standard of living was rising’,²⁴ and that Dr. Hobsbawm arrives at the precisely opposite conclusion for the early nineteenth century.²⁵ We may usefully investigate the basis of these generalizations.

Let us first consider food. In the middle of the nineteenth century, as half a century earlier, bread and potatoes were the staple items in the diet of every working-class family. It is impossible, on the evidence available to us, to calculate the changing levels of consumption of these commodities with any degree of accuracy; but it seems possible, as Dr. Hobsbawm suggests, that bread consumption was declining in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The implications of this development, however, are far from clear. In 1847 G. R. Porter noted²⁶ that ‘a large and increasing number [of the population] are in a great measure fed upon potatoes’; but at the same time he observed that ‘unless in years of scarcity, no part of the inhabitants of England except in the extreme North, and there only partially, have now recourse to barley or rye bread’. It has been usual among dieticians and economic historians to interpret a shift from rye to wheaten bread as evidence of improvement,

²³ See e.g. E. J. Hobsbawm, ‘The British Standard of Living, 1790–1850’, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. x (1957), 46–68, especially pp. 52–7; R. C. O. Matthews, *A Study in Trade Cycle History, 1833–42* (Cambridge, 1954), *passim*.

²⁴ Ashton, ‘Changes in the Standard of Comfort in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xci (1955), 187.

²⁵ Hobsbawm, ‘British Standard of Living’, pp. 60–1. (‘It is not improbable that, sometime soon after the onset of the Industrial Revolution . . . they [living standards] ceased to improve and declined.’) ²⁶ G. R. Porter, *Progress of the Nation*, 2nd edn. (1847), p. 548.

and a shift from bread to potatoes as evidence of deterioration in general living standards. Here the two processes are seen working themselves out side by side. How, if at all, is this seeming contradiction to be resolved?

The potato was still a relative newcomer to the diet of the average Englishman at the end of the eighteenth century. Its advance represented a minor dietetic revolution whose progress was determined not solely, and indeed perhaps not even primarily, by economic factors. Outside Ireland, the potato had made its greatest conquests in the English north-west. Cheapness and ease of growth commended its use to native as well as immigrant Lancastrians; but perhaps of equal importance was the variety which it gave to the working man's table. In Ireland the rising consumption of the potato was the mark of deteriorating living standards: in northern England the same phenomenon admits of a different explanation. Even if our statistical knowledge were increased, therefore, it is doubtful whether the case for an overall rise or decline in the standard of living could find any convincing basis in the changing consumption pattern of bread and potatoes. At best it suggests differences of experience between the agricultural and industrial communities.²⁷

Not so with meat. Here a decline in *per capita* consumption may well be taken as *prima facie* evidence of an overall deterioration in living standards. At this point the historian is more fortunate in his statistical sources. Both Professor Ashton and Dr. Hobsbawm have made important use of the Returns of the Collector of Beasts Tolls at Smithfield Market, the one to demonstrate a rise in meat consumption during the eighteenth century, the other to suggest its decline after 1800.²⁸ The Smithfield returns present a continuous, though not necessarily always comprehensive, survey of the numbers of sheep and cattle brought to London for slaughter in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and in relation to population their trend is upward in the second half of the eighteenth, and downward in the first four decades of the nineteenth century. But, suggestive as they are of wider general tendencies, the Smithfield statistics must be approached with some caution. They do not take into account all classes of meat—the ubiquitous pig, for example, is omitted—nor do they allow for the weight, as distinct from the number, of beasts taken for consumption. The investigations of G. E. Fussell²⁹ thirty years ago disproved the once commonly held view that the weight of animals at market more than doubled during the course of the eighteenth century. His findings were that the Smithfield cow or sheep of 1800 was little heavier, though rather meatier, than its 1700 forbear: but it would be dangerous, without similar close investigations, to carry over this conclusion into the nineteenth century. Even more

²⁷ For a fuller discussion of this subject, with a somewhat different emphasis, see R. N. Salaman, *History and Social Influence of the Potato* (1949), chaps. xxv–xxvi.

²⁸ Ashton, 'Changes in the Standard of Comfort', pp. 175–7; Hobsbawm, 'British Standard of Living', pp. 58–9, 63–8.

²⁹ G. E. Fussell, 'The Size of English Cattle in the Eighteenth Century', *Agricultural History*, iii (1929), 160–81.

questionable is the extent to which London's experience may be said to reflect that of the country as a whole. In its extremes of wealth and poverty London was no doubt a microcosm of the nation at large, but its economic progress ran a somewhat different course from that of either the industrial North or of the agricultural South. The evidence on meat, therefore, while it suggests a nineteenth-century decline and to that extent holds no comfort for the optimist, is of itself insufficient to establish any firm thesis of general deterioration.

When attention is turned from bread and meat to more quickly perishable foodstuffs like milk and green vegetables, historian and statistician part company. Contemporaries were virtually silent about the levels of consumption of these nutritively significant items of diet. It seems likely, however, that in the case of perishable commodities the years of rapid urbanization were years of declining consumption. Although cattle were grazing within a mile of Manchester Town Hall as late as 1850, and large-scale market gardening was developing on the fringe of the industrial areas, the carriage of fresh dairy produce and vegetables before the coming of the railway must have presented problems which could hardly fail to be reflected in shortages and high prices.

The conclusions to be drawn, therefore, from the evidence on food consumption are by no means clearly defined: but their general tenor is to suggest rising living standards towards the end of the eighteenth century and less certain progress or even decline thereafter.³⁰ Food, however, though it remained the most important item of working-class expenditure and took up the greater part of every working-class budget, did not exhaust the worker's wants. We know less than we would wish about the movement of house rents, but perhaps sufficient to suggest that, in relation to the labourer's wage, rent rose rather than declined between 1800 and 1850.³¹ Fuel, on the other hand, was increasing in availability and tending to fall in price with the greater exploitation of inland coalfields and improvements in transportation.

It was outside the field of necessities, in the narrow sense, that increasing consumption was most evident. Between 1785 and 1840 the production of cotton goods for the home market increased ten times more rapidly than did population. An equally well-attested, if somewhat more limited, increase is to be seen in the output of soap and candles; and it is possible to infer similar increases in the production of a wide range of household articles from pots and pans to furniture and furnishings.³² It would be unwise to interpret this general expansion in output as synonymous with an equivalent increase in working-class consump-

³⁰ For further discussion of the nutritional problem, and particularly of the question of adulteration, see J. C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food*, 2nd edn. (1958), also J. Burnett, *The History of Food Adulteration in Great Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (London Ph.D. thesis, 1958, summarized in *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xxxii (1959), 104–9).

³¹ For a discussion of the housing question, see Ashton, 'Some Statistics of the Industrial Revolution in Britain', *Trans. Manchester Statistical Soc.* (1947–8), 1–21.

³² See, *inter alia*, the authorities cited by W. Hoffmann, *British Industry, 1700–1950* (Engl. trans. 1955).

tion. The upper and middle classes, no doubt, took a disproportionate share of the products as they did of the profits of industrialization: but it is clear that improving standards of comfort were slowly percolating down to the mass of the population. By the 1840s working-class houses in Sheffield were said to be 'furnished in a very comfortable manner, the floors . . . carpeted, and the tables . . . usually of mahogany'.³³ Similar conditions were to be found in the mining districts of Northumberland and Durham. If these improvements were purchased in part at the expense of so-called necessities, and specifically of food, this was a matter of the consumer's choice. A society slowly growing more prosperous may well prefer to sacrifice near-necessities in the pursuit of new luxuries.³⁴

There remains for consideration one further possible approach to the measurement of changing living standards. As long ago as 1816 John Rickman, the census-taker, expressed the opinion that 'human comfort is to be estimated by human health and that by the length of human life'.³⁵ Longevity is in general a useful yardstick of changing living standards, and for this reason among others the debate on living standards has tended to keep company with that on the causes and nature of population growth.

Between 1780 and 1850 the population of England and Wales rose from some $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 18 millions, a rate of growth wholly unprecedented in this country. Contemporaries were made increasingly aware of this development and sought its explanation in terms either of a rising birth-rate or of a declining death-rate. The followers of Malthus, perhaps even more than Malthus himself, put particular stress on a high birth-rate, and by implication discounted the significance of increased longevity. The contrary viewpoint, laying emphasis on a falling death-rate, was neither so firmly nor perhaps so coherently held, but indications of it are to be found in Rickman, among others. In the present century the issue has been no less vigorously debated. Griffith, in 1926, came down heavily on the side of a declining death-rate as the primary factor in population growth, but his thesis, though widely accepted, has never received the general endorsement of demographers. T. H. Marshall, for example, though giving full weight to the decline in the death-rate from 1780 onwards, insists that as much attention be given 'to the forces which kept the birth-rate up as to those which pulled the death-rate down';³⁶ and J. T. Krause goes even further in concluding that 'the national [statistical] materials suggest strongly that a rising birth-rate was

³³ Porter, p. 533.

³⁴ Cf. The statement of Thomas Holmes of Aldbrough (Holderness) in 1837 or 1838 covering the experience of his lifetime. 'There has been a very great increase in the consumption of meat, wheaten bread, poultry, tea and sugar . . . The poorest are not so well fed. But they are better clothed and provided with furniture, better taken care of in sickness and misfortune. So they are gainers. This, I think, is a plain statement of the whole case.' Quoted in full by Ashton, 'Standard of Life of the Workers in England', p. 37.

³⁵ O. Williams, *Life and Letters of Rickman* (1912), p. 182.

³⁶ T. H. Marshall, 'The Population Problem during the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History*, i (1929), 452. This article remains the classical statement of the population problem.

the major cause of the growth of the English population in this period'.³⁷

When there is such disagreement about causes of first instance, it is not surprising that equal divergence of opinion is to be found about the underlying causes of population growth and their implication for the movement of living standards. Neither an increasing population nor a rising birth-rate is in itself evidence of improving living standards: indeed the experience of some Asiatic societies suggests that the reverse may often be the case. A declining death-rate, on the other hand, unless—an important proviso³⁸—it is merely the statistical reflection of a rising birth-rate, implies an increased expectation of life and may therefore be regarded as *prima facie* evidence of an improving standard of life.

It is generally agreed that the crude death-rate fell sharply—perhaps by a quarter—between 1780 and the end of the French Wars, and rose significantly, though slightly, over the next two decades;³⁹ since when its course has been consistently downward. In so far as it is possible to regard the overall reduction of the death-rate as synonymous with increased longevity, this increase in expectation of life has been traced to a variety of causes: to a growth in medical knowledge and facilities, to the recession of specific virulent diseases, to improvements in personal hygiene and public health, to better and more plentiful supplies of food, and to a marked reduction in maternal and infant mortality. Griffith, for example, while touching on all these factors, perhaps lays most stress on improvements in medical knowledge and practice, and on environmental factors—the latter to explain not only the decline in the death-rate before 1815 but also the temporary reversal of the trend in the post-war period. Marshall emphasizes the rapid decline in infant mortality before 1810 and its perceptible, if less marked, rise thereafter. More recently two medical investigators, T. McKeown and R. G. Brown,⁴⁰ have, for the eighteenth century at least, questioned the importance of improvements in medicine and treatment, and by implication given added weight to the significance of advances in nutritional standards.

These statistics and explanations are broadly consistent with those changes in living standards—upwards in the late eighteenth century and arrested to the point of decline thereafter—which have already been suggested by the evidence of food consumption. Yet, notwithstanding this coincidence, the ambiguity of the death-rate still makes it highly suspect as an instrument for the measurement of changing living

³⁷ J. T. Krause, 'Changes in English Fertility and Mortality 1781-1850', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. xi (1958), 70. For another view, also broadly favourable to the birth-rate thesis, see H. J. Habakkuk, 'English Population in the Eighteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. vi (1953), 117-33.

³⁸ For a brief elaboration of this important qualification, see Ashton, 'Standard of Life of the Workers in England', p. 22.

³⁹ Cf. the estimates of J. Brownlee, quoted by Marshall, *ubi supra*, p. 443. (The death-rates are as follows, 1781-90: 28·6 (per thousand), 1811-20: 21·1, 1831-40: 23·4). For a criticism of these figures see Krause, *ubi supra*, pp. 52-62.

⁴⁰ T. McKeown and R. G. Brown, 'Medical Evidence relating to English Population Changes', *Population Studies*, ix (1955), 119-41.

standards. This is the more the case when it is borne in mind that the growth in population of these years was not solely a British nor even a European phenomenon.⁴¹ The fundamental cause of population increase would accordingly appear to lie outside the narrow confines of the new British industrial economy. This does not mean that industrialization played no part in determining the pattern of Britain's population growth; but it suggests that industrialization was at least as much a consequence as a cause of the increase in population. Where cause and effect are seemingly so inseparably intertwined, head is apt to chase tail in disconcerting fashion. The demographer would be the first to admit that he has problems of his own to solve in this period before he can effectively come to the aid of the economic historian.

iii

Where so much remains legitimately controversial, the historian can at best draw only tentative conclusions. The evidence, however, would appear to permit two immediate generalizations. There is reason to believe that after an early upsurge in living standards in the first stages of rapid industrialization, the pace of advance slackened, and decline may even have set in, by the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is also evident, notwithstanding Porter's assertion to the contrary,⁴² that the progress of the working class lagged increasingly behind that of the nation at large. Had working-class incomes kept pace with the growth of the national income, the average worker could have expected to find himself some 50 per cent better off in real terms in 1840 than thirty years earlier.⁴³ Even the most sanguine of optimists would hardly claim that such was in fact the case.

To explain how this situation arose is in a measure to validate the facts themselves. Thorold Rogers, writing in the 1880s, attributed the poverty of the working classes in the earlier part of the century to a variety of causes: to the unrestricted employment, before the first effective factory act in 1833, of juvenile labour; to restrictions on, and the weakness of, trade unions; and to the attitude of employers and of the law.⁴⁴ But, significantly, he added that, although 'the sufferings of the working classes . . . might have been aggravated by the practices of employers, and were certainly intensified by the harsh partiality of the law . . . they were due in the main to deeper causes'.⁴⁵ Chief among these, Rogers cited the protracted wars against France, the economic derangements which accompanied them, and the behaviour of successive governments, which were slow to remedy social evils, yet intervened

⁴¹ M. R. Reinhard, *Histoire de la Population Mondiale de 1700 à 1948* (Paris, 1949), *passim*.

⁴² Porter, pp. 531–2.

⁴³ Based on the national income estimates assembled by P. Deane, 'Contemporary Estimates of National Income in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. viii (1956), 339–54.

⁴⁴ Rogers, pp. 130 ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 140–1.

unwisely to maintain the price of bread and to impede the development of trade unionism.

Modern historians have tended to endorse Rogers' findings, though with varying degrees of emphasis. They have also added two other factors, made evident by more recent economic experience: the effect of the claims of long-term investment on current consumption,⁴⁶ and the movement of the terms of trade. A brief examination of the interaction of these varied factors is relevant to our discussion of living standards.

In the early stages of rapid industrial growth, a society is obliged to make heavy investments not only in buildings, machinery, stocks and equipment, but also in communications and public utilities. Such investment must inevitably be made at the expense of current consumption, unless, as in the case of the United States, foreign investors are willing to prime the pump of economic development. Thus Soviet Russia declared a virtual moratorium on increased living standards while laying the foundations of her industrial greatness in the 1920s. Britain after 1780 was erecting textile-mills and iron-works, constructing a great network of canals and laying the nucleus of a greater railway system, and building reservoirs, gas-works and hospitals to meet the present and future needs of a rapidly growing urban population. Like Russia a century later, though less consciously, she was sacrificing present comfort to the pursuit of future wealth and prosperity. By 1850 this early investment was yielding abundant fruit, and future expansion, in terms of railways, steamships, steel-mills, and electrical plant, was no longer to be incompatible with rising living standards.

The needs of capital accumulation, therefore, supply a partial explanation of the relative depression of working-class living standards in this period of rising national wealth. It would be unwise to press this argument too hard, however. In Japan, for example, whose industrial growth after 1918 closely paralleled that of Britain in the early nineteenth century, it proved possible to reconcile industrial growth with a perceptible advance in living standards.⁴⁷ We must, therefore, look further afield if we are to explain not only the slow but still more the inconstant rise of living standards in nineteenth-century England. It is here, in particular, that significance is to be attached to the effects of the French Wars and to the frequently adverse movement of the terms of trade.

The wars against revolutionary and Napoleonic France imposed a severe strain upon the resources of the nation, and offset, in part at least, the gains of industrial and commercial expansion. Large-scale borrowing by the state during the war, and the imposition of severely regressive taxation at its end, not only induced serious wartime inflation but tended further to redistribute the national income in favour

⁴⁶ For a recent restatement of this thesis, see S. Pollard, 'Investment, Consumption and the Industrial Revolution', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser. xi (1958), 215–26.

⁴⁷ G. C. Allen, *Short Economic History of Modern Japan* (1946), p. 106.

of the men of property. War thereby, both directly and indirectly, acted on balance to the economic detriment of the nation at large and to that of the working class in particular.

The movement of the terms of trade also proved disadvantageous to the working-class consumer. During the first half of the nineteenth century the terms on which Britain dealt in foreign markets steadily worsened, more particularly between 1800 and 1815, and between 1830 and 1840.⁴⁸ In order to pay for a given volume of imported goods, Britain had to export almost twice as much in 1840 as she had done in 1800. Specifically, the price of cotton exports fell much more rapidly after 1815 than did that of imported foodstuffs. In part—though only in part—cotton manufacturers and their employees were able to find compensation in a reduction of the price of their imported raw material: for the rest they had no alternative but to accept lower profit margins and reduced piece-rates. A significant share of the benefits of Britain's new industrial efficiency, therefore, went neither to her workers nor to her industrialists, but to the foreign consumer.

Behind these pervasive but temporary factors lay the insistent force of population pressure. In so far as population increase may be ascribed a determinant rôle in the economic growth of this period, it is easy to understand how the upward thrust of population, though it facilitated and encouraged industrial advance, also retarded the improvement in living standards which industrialization brought in its train. Since the value of labour, as of any other commodity, gains with scarcity, an over-abundant supply of labour is plainly inimical to the advance of working-class living standards.

How plentiful then was the supply of labour in early nineteenth-century England? The question admits of no categorical answer. The rapid increase in population, the influx of Irish immigrants, particularly into industrial Lancashire and western Scotland, the readiness with which women and young children could be employed in mills and workshops, are all pointers to an abundant labour supply. But the supply of workers must be measured against the demands of employers. That the number of those seeking employment in a year of intense depression like 1842 was far in excess of demand is tragically evident; but we need to deepen our knowledge of employment conditions in boom years like 1835 before we can pass final judgement on the general state of the labour market. The relative immobility of labour, in terms both of geographical and of occupational movement, tended to create not one but a number of virtually independent 'markets' for labour, in some of which workmen were in short, and in others in abundant supply. If a generalization is to be ventured it must be that, except at the level of the skilled worker or in years of exceptional demand, employers had little difficulty in

⁴⁸ A. H. Imlah, *Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 94–98. For a somewhat different approach to the terms of trade, see Ashton, 'Standard of Life of the Workers in England', pp. 25–8.

finding hands; and to this extent the worker, lacking effective trade union organization, was generally placed in a weak position in his dealings with his employer.

To dwell thus upon these three major forces is not to deny the significance of more traditional explanations of working-class discontent; but it may serve to place these in a new perspective. That the scales were heavily weighted against the working classes is indisputable. There is no shortage of evidence, in the blue books and elsewhere, of capitalist excesses, some of them committed in the name of so-called sound economics, some of them less worthily motivated. In face of these, the worker could find little help from a state which made him the weaker partner in every contract and frustrated his efforts at collective self-help. But these evils, although they were the most apparent and the most easily remediable, were neither the only, nor probably the most important, causes of the failure of the working classes to derive early benefits from the rapid growth of industrial enterprise and productivity.

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We may now sketch in rather fuller detail the general movement of working-class living standards between 1780 and 1850. The limited evidence suggests that down to about 1795 working-class families were gaining at least a share in the benefits of quickening economic activity.⁴⁹ Prices for manufactured goods in foreign markets were buoyant and industry was reaping the full reward of its increased productivity. Workers in the newly stimulated industries enjoyed rapidly rising living standards; this was above all the golden age of the Lancashire handloom weaver. From the mid-1790s a new and less happy trend is apparent. War, inflation, and worsening terms of trade spelt distress for all but limited sections of the working class. 'Wages limped slowly behind the cost of living, the standard of living of the workers was lowered.'⁵⁰ Recovery after 1815 was slow and interrupted. There were good years like 1825, when employment was high and earnings moved upwards, and even better ones like 1836, when a strong demand for labour went hand in hand with falling food prices. At such times working-class living standards, particularly in the industrial North, reached heights much above those of the best years of the eighteenth century. But there were also years, like 1817 and 1842, when work was scarce and food dear, and the position of the labourer, not least in the towns, was little if at all better than that of his predecessor in the leanest years of the earlier age. It is evident that by 1840 the material progress of half a century had not yet sufficed to insulate the working class against the worst effects of economic depression. The ebb and flow of working-class fortunes, as of those of the economy in general, had in some respects tended to become

⁴⁹ See Hobsbawm, 'British Standard of Living', p. 46. For a different view of these years, see Salaman, pp. 487 ff.

⁵⁰ Ashton, *The Industrial Revolution, 1760-1830* (1948), p. 150.

more marked with the growth of industrialism and of the nation's export trade. To this extent the labourer suffered more sharply under the pressure of industrial distress, though he gained equally substantially when business activity moved upward. In the exact calculation of gain and loss which a comparison with an earlier age involves, it is necessary to take account not only of both prosperous and depressed years but also perhaps of the new insecurity which the changing character of the business cycle brought with it. But the calculation, however nicely weighted, depends on the accuracy of the information at the historian's disposal, and the vagaries of the evidence must leave the ultimate question still an open one.

To say this may appear tantamount to suggesting that a generation of historians has laboured to bring forth a mouse. But the appearance is deceptive. Although the central issue may remain unresolved—and is perhaps likely to remain so—the area of controversy has been substantially and significantly reduced. Optimist and pessimist now agree in seeing the years before 1795 and from the early 1840s as periods of advance—the latter to be sustained until almost the end of the nineteenth century; each views the quarter century of war as a time of deterioration; and each also draws distinctions between the experiences of different types of worker.⁵¹ It is common ground that the skilled enjoyed relative prosperity; and among these are to be numbered not only the craftsmen called into existence by the new order, but also the older artisan, now pressed into fuller and wider service. In this group are to be found machine-makers, iron-moulders, builders, printers and not least hewers of coal and ore. There is similar agreement that decline in living standards was the lot of the domestic worker in those industries where the machine had taken early command, in cotton weaving and hosiery knitting, for example. But in 1840 the majority of English workers, including the vast and varied army of farm-labourers and the smaller company of textile operatives, fell outside these two groups, and their experience in terms of gain or loss can be neither so easily nor so indisputably defined.

All this would suggest that the area of disagreement has contracted. Certainly it has become more clearly defined: and this is also true in a further sense. It is perhaps no more than an accident that Professor Ashton speaks of the Standard of Life of the Workers in *England* and Dr. Hobsbawm of the *British* Standard of Life. Neither makes great play with the implicit distinction;⁵² but from the point of view of the general controversy its importance can scarcely be exaggerated, a fact which Porter recognized a century ago, when he restricted his claim of improving

⁵¹ Cf. Ashton, *An Economic History of England: The Eighteenth Century* (1955), pp. 234–5; also 'Standard of Life of the Workers in England', pp. 33–8, Hobsbawm, 'The Labour Aristocracy in Nineteenth-Century Britain' in *Democracy and the Labour Movement* (ed. J. Saville), pp. 201–39 (especially pp. 205–8).

⁵² But n.b. the distinction between English and Irish experience made by Ashton, *Industrial Revolution*, p. 161.

living standards, in the first instance, to England.⁵³ In 1841 the inhabitants of England outnumbered those of Ireland by only two to one. Today, taking the same areas, the disproportion is almost ten to one. Ireland, politically integrated in the United Kingdom since 1801, loomed large in the British scene. Although in 1841 the tragedy of the Great Famine still lay in the future, the living standards of Ireland's eight millions were already close to the margin of subsistence. The 'Forties may not have been hungry in England; they were certainly so in Ireland. It would be too much to suggest that the pessimistic case rests on the inclusion, and the optimistic on the exclusion, of Ireland in the calculation of the nation's welfare; but the distinction between English and British is here clearly of more than marginal significance. The argument for declining living standards is patently strongest when the experience of Ireland is added to that of Great Britain, and correspondingly weakest when attention is confined to England and, more specifically, to its new industrial North and Midlands. If nothing else emerges from recent debate, therefore, it is evident that future controversialists will need to define their arguments in precise terms of date, area and the section of the population with which they are concerned.

Even more significant than this evidence of a narrowing area of dispute is the change in the nature of the debate which has accompanied it. Where argument was once primarily in terms of the new industrial classes, it has now shifted to the wider field of the British working class as a whole, among whom as late as 1840 the new industrial wage-earners were still only a minority. At the same time the extreme position adopted by some advocates of the pessimistic case—that the decline in working-class living standards in this period was only part of a permanent process of deterioration⁵⁴—now appears to be virtually abandoned. This move to fresh positions is in a sense a pessimist's retreat, but it has wider implications. In the past the debate over living standards has tended to become inseparable from a more general controversy about the merits and demerits of *laissez-faire* capitalism, in which optimists and pessimists might be broadly characterized as respectively the friends and foes of economic liberalism. This division would now seem too facile. To contend that living standards rose is not to extol the merits of liberal capitalism; nor does the view that they declined necessarily imply its denigration. The slowness of advance, or actual deterioration, in working-class living standards is now seen to be explicable, at least in part, in terms other than those of the excesses of capitalist individualism; and the retardation of living standards in the early stages of industrialization has revealed itself as the experience of socialist as well as of capitalist societies. At the same time it has been clearly demonstrated that rapid economic growth and social advance

⁵³ See above, p. 16.

⁵⁴ For a recent statement of this point of view, see J. Kuczynski, *A Short History of Labour Conditions in Great Britain, 1750 to the Present Day*, 2nd edn. (1944), especially pp. 79–80, 119.

are as compatible with socialist as with capitalist institutions. From one standpoint, therefore, the significance of the debate may be said to have narrowed; but from another it has undoubtedly widened. Industrialization is now a world-wide phenomenon; and the controversy about the standard of life in nineteenth-century Britain will remain not only a favourite jousting-ground for economic historians but an issue relevant to the problems of the modern world.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Cf. A. J. Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (1956).

[This article was in the printer's hands before the appearance of R. M. Hartwell's 'Interpretations of the Industrial Revolution in England: a Methodological Inquiry', *Journal of Economic History*, xix, 1959, pp. 229-49. Mr. Hartwell's essay represents a parallel and in some respects complementary approach to that attempted here.]

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: VIII

D. F. FINDLAY

Hymers College, Hull

PROFESSOR BUTTERFIELD has urged the need for historical writers to return to the universal and comprehensive histories in the spirit of Acton and Ranke and it is heartening to find Professor E. N. Johnson of Brandeis University courageously and sincerely making such an attempt in his two-volume work, *An Introduction to the History of the Western Tradition*.¹ Professor Johnson sets out to trace the growth of various traditions, historical, artistic, moral and political, that have gone to make up the present Western environment. By Western, is meant the Ancient Near East, Europe and those areas overseas that have originally been settled by European stock. He sees a perpetual and wasteful conflict in the history of the West between the Christian ascetic tradition and that of Greek humanism. Man's present dilemma is how to produce a synthesis between Christianity's emphasis upon the moral nature of man and the tolerant, rational emphasis of scientific humanism on the discoverable ways of earthly betterment. Since both traditions have developed certain common democratic aspects, Professor Johnson sees in the democratic ideal the greatest hope for man and in totalitarianism his greatest danger. To a generation that has survived Hitler and the Cold War, that seems obvious enough and may lead us to feel that Professor Johnson has nothing new to tell us. Indeed his story suffers from having too strong a moral and a pattern too forcibly imposed. The story of Man from Ancient Egypt up to the Korean War puts a heavy strain on such generalizations. The real fascination of these two volumes lies in the immense range of topics covered, from Hellenistic learning to medieval Latin literature, from the National Constituent Assembly to the United Nations. Each topic is dealt with in scholarly and enthusiastic fashion as in the chapter on Greek Democracy and the quite lengthy review of J. S. Mill and his works. No sixth-former or undergraduate could fail to be infected by Professor Johnson's ardent zeal when dealing with subjects after his own heart; and apart from inevitable minor errors and omissions, such as his reference to the Independent Labour Party operating in Great Britain in 1872 and the rather surprising failure to mention William of Occam when discussing the Nominalists, the topics are clearly and stimulatingly dealt with and are remarkable in a work of this size for a wealth of detail not found in other general surveys. Professor Johnson has read widely and well and gives very cogent quotations from many contemporary sources. The work is enhanced by excellent maps and illustrations. There is also a useful study guide to the work, with questions for students, prepared by Professor Zabel. It rightly

¹ *An Introduction to the History of the Western Tradition*. By Edgar N. Johnson. Ginn and Co. Boston, 1959. 2 Vols. x + 819 + 799 pp., illus., maps. \$8.00 each volume. *Study Guide to each volume*. By Orville H. Zabel. 88 and 92 pp. 90c. each.

is a guide only and will serve to attract students to tackle the specialized sections of the rather formidable whole. Professor Johnson gives a valuable reading list which intentionally reveals the wealth of authorities that can now be obtained in cheap paper-back editions.

Very different from the above is the approach of the series 'Problems in European Civilization', under the general editorship of Ralph W. Greenlaw. Concentration is made on one particular topic or event and each book takes the form of extracts from leading historians who have differed in their interpretation of the event. There are four volumes to be discussed.² First, Melvin Kranzberg edits *1848, A Turning Point?* Excerpts are given from the work of both American and European historians with a short introduction by the editor. The extracts are not lengthy, the shortest being five pages, whilst the longest is only eighteen. But they effectively bring out the differences of interpretation. Lord Elton's thesis that the revolution in France was economic, Professor Namier's contention that in Germany it was a nationalist revolution of intellectuals become clear. A. J. P. Taylor's pungent condemnation of the liberal movement in Germany contends for acceptance against the more favourable judgement of Professor Meinecke. The extracts are all too short but then the aim is to guide the student to the major work. There are serious omissions. Events in Great Britain, Italy and Eastern Europe are for the most part ignored. The difficulties that face John Snell in *The Nazi Revolution* are greater because opinions have not yet hardened into clear-cut schools of thought. But on that account, the book is livelier and full of stimulation. Again contributions are given from both American and European historians. One misses the type of extract that might have been given from Professor Gooch's work that would have anchored one firmly to fact; a comparison with a similar work, *The Third Reich* (not by any means without blemish), published under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies, shows further omissions. Karl Dannenfeldt has edited the volume on the Renaissance. This takes the form of a revision and extension of the work of Burckhardt by extracts from the work of such scholars as Hans Baron, Dana Durand, and Johan Huizinga. The intellectual, social, economic and scientific phases which Burckhardt rather neglected are dealt with, whilst Professor Lynn Thorndike in vigorous style shows his antipathy towards the whole concept of the 'so-called Renaissance', claiming unbroken continuity with all aspects of medieval life. As in the last volume, *Protestantism and Capitalism*, by Robert W. Green, sociological and psychological arguments tend to crowd out the historical approach and make for difficult though none the less interesting reading. Robert W. Green in his choice of extracts uses the sociological approach even more. The Weber thesis by attempting to explain the phenomenon of capitalism becomes then a battleground, not between historians but between those who admire capitalism and those hostile to it, between Catholic and Protestant, theologian and economist. It will not be an easy book for any but the really intelligent sixth-former. The whole series

² *Problems in European Civilization Series. 1848, A Turning Point?* Introduced and edited by Melvin Kranzberg. Harrap. 1959. xix + 104 pp. 10s. 6d. *The Nazi Revolution. Germany's Guilt or Germany's Fate?* Introduced and edited by John L. Snell. Harrap. 1959. xvii + 97 pp. 10s. 6d. *The Renaissance. Medieval or Modern?* Introduced and edited by Karl H. Dannenfeldt. Harrap. 1959. xii + 115 pp. 10s. 6d. *Protestantism and Capitalism. The Weber Thesis and its Critics.* Introduced and edited by Robert W. Green. Harrap. 1959. xii + 116 pp. 10s. 6d.

however does provide excellent material for arousing an interest in historical truth. The able boy will be fascinated by the contest of these powerful minds; to the luke-warm it may bring contagious scepticism or a slick and easy mastery of hard-earned theories, as examiners will no doubt soon find out.

Mr. Sellman's latest contribution to Methuen's Outline Series is a delight to come across. In *The Anglo-Saxons*,³ Mr. Sellman has given us a social and political survey of England from the end of Roman Britain to the coming of the Vikings. The book has a thoroughly scholarly approach and as such will appeal to intelligent pupils of all ages in Grammar Schools. Teachers will find it most valuable for project work in the lower forms and for serious essay writing in the Sixth, for besides dealing with most aspects of Saxon life, there is a very competent account of political events. One is left with rather a sad regret that Mr. Sellman did not see fit to include a chapter specifically on art, especially architecture, though the subject is not entirely ignored. There are not as many illustrations as in his other outline books but there are plenty of excellent maps, apart from the rather poor and inaccurate one of Britain c. 430. Another Outline book is *Parliament*, by Kenneth Mackenzie.⁴ This consists of a straightforward account of the growth of Parliament from the Conquest to the present day. It is written in simple clear style but is detailed and deals with mature topics, so that it will be only suitable for senior forms. There are one or two inaccuracies that should be corrected in succeeding editions, e.g. on page 28 the merchant who refused payment of duty on currants was Bate not Bates and it was not an additional duty of 5s. on each cwt.

The virtue of a scholarly and understanding approach makes the biography *John Howard* by Martin Southwood⁵ also very suitable for any intelligent pupil and this book should be in every library. Telling use is made of original documents. The appalling state of prisons in the late eighteenth century in this country and Europe, and the general social scene come vividly to life. Mr. Southwood has a felicitous style and the book is well produced with some excellent plates. A re-issue of the first four chapters of Professor Trevelyan's *Blenheim*, devoted to a general survey of England's countryside, its towns and its people in Queen Anne's reign,⁶ again proves the value of leading intelligent pupils to true scholarship as early as possible. No boy will fail to be moved by Professor Trevelyan's ardent patriotism and love of his native countryside. One is inevitably reminded of Macaulay's famous Chapter III. There are some excellent notes by G. G. Allen at the end of the book but it would have been helpful to have had numbered references in the text rather than just an indication of the pages on which the reference is to be found; better still if they could have been made footnotes.

Three books on Ancient History show an interesting contrast in approach. Mary Macgregor in a new edition of her *Story of Greece* and her *Story of Rome*⁷ concentrates on a legendary and heroic approach. She avoids economic and cultural matters though these cannot help intruding as the

³ *The Anglo-Saxons*. By R. R. Sellman. Methuen. 1959. 70 pp., illus., maps. 10s. 6d.

⁴ *Parliament*. By Kenneth Mackenzie. Methuen. 1959. 78 pp., illus., maps. 10s. 6d.

⁵ *John Howard*. By Martin Southwood. Independent Press Ltd., London. 1958. 144 pp., illus. 9s. 6d.

⁶ *The England of Queen Anne*. By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans. 1959. xiv + 194 pp. 5s. 6d.

⁷ *The Story of Greece*. By Mary Macgregor. Nelson. 1959. xiv + 328 pp., illus., maps. 21s. *The Story of Rome*. By Mary Macgregor. Nelson. 1959. xiv + 374 pp., illus., maps. 21s.

story of the Gracchi develops. But the appeal of great heroic and dramatic figures is without question. All children will like the warmth and the glamour of well-defined personalities caught up in simple dramatic incidents. They will share the enthusiasm of the author who tells her story with simplicity, directness and great sincerity. The books are handsomely produced though the full-page illustrations show a too extravagant imagination. The few excellent black and white sketches of actual antiquities could well have been used as a model for the larger plates. These are books for the library not the classroom. R. J. Unstead's *Looking at Ancient History*⁸ is very different. It is primarily a social history and should prove an excellent class book for either the Secondary Modern or the early forms of the Grammar School. Here is an accurate account of the daily life of the ancient world backed up by some 200 clear illustrations. But political life is not forgotten for people and events are woven into the general pattern. Clarity is ensured by simple time charts at the end of each chapter. An interesting little book on Scotland, again concentrating on the heroic approach, is Norman Hunter's *The Making of Scotland*,⁹ Book I in the Chambers' Scottish History Series. It traces Scotland's story from the Stone Age up to the death of James III and is designed for the last years of the Scottish Primary School. A good story well told will always have its appeal and this will guarantee the success of this book. Social and political history are well balanced and the pictures, both coloured and otherwise, are informative and exciting.

The 'patch' approach to history is well catered for in the new issues of the 'Then and There' series.¹⁰ Dr. Margaret Reeves, in *The Norman Conquest*, has an excellent base for her text and illustrations in the Bayeux Tapestry and Domesday Book, both of which she exploits to the full. It is well done. The story of the Conquest and its aftermath are simply and graphically told. Descriptions of economic and social life follow naturally. Robin Place in his *Prehistoric Britain* has made good use of recent archaeological finds to give authenticity to his story of successive generations of a Wiltshire family from the Stone to the Iron Age. It is imaginatively done and will appeal to children. The illustrations are good apart from the one supposedly depicting the entrance to a long barrow. More details of the hafting of axes should surely find a place in a book of this type. Mr. Place's dating of the Iron Age is also questionable. *A Country Doctor in the Days of Queen Anne* by R. J. Mitchell fails to give an adequate picture of Bath at that time. The account book of Dr. Morris is too narrow a source to do that. But there are some excellent touches such as the description of Dr. Morris' early morning rising and his music party.

Young people have a natural faculty of entering into active sympathy and imaginative co-operation with figures of the past and there is no better way of arousing this than by judicious use of local history. The zeal of children in local pageants proves the point. Hence two books on local history, suitable for most ages in any type of school, are particularly welcome. The first is

⁸ *Looking at Ancient History*. By R. J. Unstead. A. & C. Black. 1959. 112 pp., illus., maps. 10s. 6d. boards. 7s. 6d. limp linson. 8s. 6d. linson board.

⁹ *The Making of Scotland*. By Norman W. Hunter. W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh. 1959. 128 pp., illus.

¹⁰ Then and There Series. *The Norman Conquest*. By M. E. Reeves. Longmans. 1959. 60 pp., illus. 3s. *Prehistoric Britain*. By Robin Place. Longmans. 1959. 92 pp., illus., maps. 3s. *A Country Doctor in the Days of Queen Anne*. By R. J. Mitchell. Longmans. 1959. 43 pp. 2s.

by Joyce and Brian Blake on Carlisle, specially written for the eight hundredth anniversary of the granting of the City's first charter, and the second by John Hayes, Assistant Keeper of the London Museum.¹¹ They have different approaches. Mr. Hayes gives a straightforward account of the growth of London, concentrating entirely on its social story. There are seven chapters, each one devoted to a general survey of the town in successive ages. An incredible amount of fascinating detail, such as the conduct of eighteenth-century theatregoers or facts about the Battersea Power Station are given, and pertinent sketches and numerous photographs and maps bring the scene very much to life. There are next to no political facts (and John was Count of Mortain, not King when he granted London its charter of 1191), and a simple date chart at the end of each chapter would have been helpful. The approach made by Joyce and Brian Blake is entirely different. They lead the reader along the same paths of discovery that they themselves have trodden. One experiences the same sense of unfolding truth, walking with them along West Walls, turning over the leaves of Isaac Tullie's diary of the Civil War, or handling the bits of Roman leather tents in Tullie House. There are good illustrations and wood cuts but it would have been helpful to the duller mind if captions had been given. One looks forward to the time when every child will be given similar accounts of his own particular area. But these two books have an intrinsic value for the wider reader.

Locke once said that nothing teaches and nothing delights more than history and while the first recommended it to the study of grown men, the latter made it fittest for young children. This seems to be the principle behind Mary McCririck's series, 'Exploring History'.¹² Her one intention is that the children using her books shall enjoy their history. She is a practised teacher and calls to her aid all the particular skills and techniques of history that make it so fascinating and creative an activity. Children throughout are encouraged, in progressive degrees of difficulty, to build up their own history folders and collections. There are exercises on the production of their own chronicles, the collecting of coats of arms and the rubbing of coins. The three books form a history course for children 8–10 years of age. Each book deals with a number of historic topics. In the main they are the essential ones but are obviously ones that have also interested the author very much and contain a good deal of information that is not given elsewhere. A good many contemporary illustrations are used but these are closely related to the text. Even then the chapters are not a sufficient mine to supply all the material demanded by the exercises. The weakness of the book lies in the multiplicity of avenues that Miss McCririck opens up but which the pupil may not be able to enter because of lack of material. The book lists are rather meagre but with a courageous and sympathetic teacher and a well-stocked library the course would be stimulating. *Pathfinding and Pathmaking*, by Olive Garnett,¹³ deals historically

¹¹ *The Story Of Carlisle*. By Joyce and Brian Blake. The City of Carlisle Education Committee. 1958. xiv + 129 pp., illus., maps. *London From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. By John Hayes. A. & C. Black. 1959. 129 pp., illus., maps. 9s. limp linson. 10s. linson boards. 12s. 6d. boards.

¹² *Exploring History Series. Discovering Early Times*. By Mary McCririck. Blackwell. 1959. 71 pp., illus. 4s. 9d. *Discovering the Middle Ages*. By Mary McCririck. Blackwell. 1959. 115 pp., illus., maps. 5s. 3d. *Discovering Modern Times*. By Mary McCririck. Blackwell. 1959. 160 pp., illus., maps. 6s. *Teachers' Booklet*. 17 pp. 1s.

¹³ *Pathfinding and Pathmaking*. By Olive Garnett. Blackwell. 1959. ix + 166 pp., illus., maps. 7s. 6d.

with the opening up of the world, starting with Cook's voyages and ending with the U.S. Submarine *Nautilus*. It does not pretend to be comprehensive. Livingstone, Stanley and many others do not find themselves among the pathfinders. It is written for the last year at Primary School but could be well used as a reader elsewhere. The description of Cook's voyages takes up one quarter of the book. A combination of excellent maps and photographs coupled with judicious use of Cook's own Journals make for an enthralling story. The remaining chapters compare very unfavourably with these. Sir Alan Cobham's flight to Australia and back is a dull, dated travelogue, but there are fine photographs throughout.

In *Living Long Ago* and *Living in the Middle Ages*,¹⁴ two volumes of a four-book series, Miss Allen treats of a number of generations of a family from the Stone Age onwards and links up all the obvious advances in human progress as discoveries within the family circle. The same treatment is given the Middle Ages where the story evolves around the imaginary village of Bennington from its founding in 410 up to 1500. A few more dates in the various chapters would have usefully emphasized the progress of the village. The books are more readers than textbooks and will appeal to the less able pupil because of the simplicity of language and excellent bold type. There are some fine illustrations though some rather unhistoric ones. A book intended for the last year at a secondary modern school is Book IV by H. C. Knapp-Fisher¹⁵ of the Everyday History Series. This has much suitable material but will have to be used with care. Over a third of the book deals with what is mere human geography; then come brief histories of the main countries and continents with a final section dealing with the main problems of our present-day world. No occasion is lost of utilizing well-known teaching techniques such as the explanation of derivation of words, the creation of imaginary child characters or the simple explanation of some technical point. The result is much interesting material but also much confusion. Unemployed men rub shoulders with Gino Watkins and William Tell. Tutankhamen, a new type of lifeboat and Sir Alexander Fleming all share the same page. But *Tit Bits* was a success, so might this be. It has well-chosen illustrations and the language is clear and simple. *The Industrial Revolution* by M. E. Beggs-Humphreys¹⁶ traces the story of iron and steel only down to 1839 for some reason, but the story of coal is carried on to the present day. The author also discusses the progress of the cloth trade, the introduction of steam power and the advent of the factory system in brief but clear manner. The appalling conditions in industry are well covered but she is not so happy when describing the organization of the workers. Nor is the development of transport well dealt with. In the list of ships that have made history no mention is made of the *Great Eastern*. But it can be highly recommended for senior secondary modern and junior grammar school pupils. There are numerous excellent illustrations and useful charts as well as many suggestions for further reading.

It is very heartening to find such a book as *The Map Approach to African*

¹⁴ *Living Long Ago*. By Agnes Allen. W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W. Bacon. 1959. 80 pp. 4s. 6d. *Living in the Middle Ages*. By Agnes Allen. W. & A. K. Johnston & G. W. Bacon. 2nd edition 1959. 6s.

¹⁵ *The World Today*. By H. C. Knapp-Fisher. George Philip. 1958. vi + 297 pp., illus. maps. 10s. 6d.

¹⁶ *The Industrial Revolution. 1760-1860*. By M. E. Beggs-Humphreys. Allen and Unwin. 1959. 48 pp., illus. 6s. Lib. edit., 4s. School edit.

History by A. M. Healy and E. R. Vere-Hodge,¹⁷ both of the Duke of York School, Nairobi. At last year's conference of independent African states at Accra, the study of African history was accepted as one of the most urgent needs, whilst the Gilbertian situation of setting such periods as the Normans in England for G.C.E. examinations overseas has long been realized. To Africans, the rediscovery and reassessment of their past is obviously an essential part of their self respect. The book follows the map and chart approach to history popularized by Brown and Coysh and is extremely effective and clear, especially for the pre-historic and early period of African history. Well over half the 62 pages are devoted to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and whilst it is surprising to find Livingstone only given the most casual reference, there is an extraordinary amount of stimulating material that recommends the book to all thoughtful teachers of history. The maps and charts are beautifully clear and the text crisp and to the point.

Visual education by making use of the logic and psychology of visual perception greatly enhances the learning process and Macmillans set out to exploit that in their series of History Class Pictures. There are three sets, each with a reference book. The most recently published one,¹⁸ Book III, deals with the period Victoria to Elizabeth II. The pictures are large and consist of imaginary scenes, mainly social, and thus have a certain artificiality about them. But the details are accurate and related to the data in the reference book. The reference book takes each of the pictures in turn and gives a series of questions for the pupil to answer, aimed to make him use his powers of observation. Then follow contemporary extracts relevant to the picture and other brief information and contemporary photographs. The result is a very helpful and at times serious work on English social life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Teacher and pupil alike will find hours of fascinating study in its 534 pages. Short accurate biographies of the main personalities are given but surprisingly enough Florence Nightingale is absent.

There are four new film strips.¹⁹ One dealing with *Settlement Patterns in the British Isles*, with notes by C. E. H. Hull, is especially interesting in view of the great interest in the physical growth of townships that has arisen through the work of Professor Beresford. Mr. Hull has set out to describe with obvious examples the various dispersed and nucleated settlement patterns in the British Isles. The numerous factors that make for these patterns, such as defence, water supply, communications, are adequately displayed and in the accompanying text the more strictly historic reasons for development are given. The strip is useful as an introduction to an exceedingly interesting and progressive study but is no more than a brief introduction. *Governments of the World*, an Isotype strip in colour, is confusing. By means of visual

¹⁷ *The Map Approach to African History*. By A. M. Healy and E. R. Vere-Hodge. University Tutorial Press. 1959. 64 pp., maps. 4s. 9d.

¹⁸ *History Class Pictures. Reference Book. Set III. Victorian Times to Elizabeth II*. Arranged and edited by George Lay. Macmillan. 1959. x + 534 pp., illus. 20s.

¹⁹ *Settlement Patterns in the British Isles*. 35 frames in black and white with teaching notes by C. E. H. Hull. Common Ground. 1959. 18s. *Governments of the World*. 30 frames in colour with teaching notes by John A. Hawgood. Common Ground. 1959. 30s. *Life in the Roman Empire*. 32 frames in colour with teaching notes by C. A. Stott. Common Ground. 1959. 30s. *Pottery through the Ages*. 22 frames in colour, with teaching notes by D. Eyles. Educational Productions, Wakefield. 1959. 27s. 6d.

symbols such as a scroll and seal representing legislative features, scales to represent judicial ones, it seeks not only to compare forms of governments of the world but also to describe some of the philosophy behind their growth. The text by Professor Hawgood is excellent but the frames do not give further aid to comprehension and indeed seem to confuse. *Life in the Roman Empire*, a similar Isotype strip in colour, tells the story of the growth of Imperial Rome and deals in scholarly fashion with defence, travel, buildings, amusement and religion. The frames, apart from excellent charts, are of actual remains. But the strip is only for the more intelligent pupil and knowledgeable teacher. *Pottery through the Ages* is also in colour. 'The aim of each illustration', says the introduction, 'has been twofold: first to show examples of the pots made during the period under discussion and secondly to emphasize that although these wares are now museum pieces, they were made, sold, transported and used by people of bygone days.' Each strip consists of a carefully designed scene of a particular age from prehistory to modern times. They are exciting pictures but the pottery seems only incidental to the scene and one longs for a fuller picture of it. But perhaps therein lies the success of the strip.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE ARE SOMETIMES ASKED why *History* no longer publishes 'Historical Revisions'. The answer is fairly simple though perhaps not at first obvious. The supply of such articles, it has been found, is very limited, and in the past it was difficult to maintain a continuous series. This difficulty has now become much greater because, as can be seen by looking at the titles of the excellent 'Aids for Teachers' series and the defined aims of this new series, it has largely taken over the functions of the former 'Historical Revisions'. We cannot now duplicate the work of this series, nor is it desirable that *History* should try to compete with it. However this does not mean that when offered a suitable article which might formerly have been published as a 'Revision' we shall refrain from publishing it.

* * *

Volumes of collected papers (especially when they are by different authors and have no common theme) always present a difficulty for a journal. Books have to be reviewed by reviewers with a reasonable competence in their field, but, short of having one book done by half a dozen reviewers, this is impossible with a volume of different studies. There is usually no alternative but to put them in a list of other books received, which always contains so many books which, given space, we should like to review. These comments have been provoked by the receipt of HISTORICAL STUDIES II (London: Bowes and Bowes. 1959. 88 pp. 10s. 6d.) edited by Michael Roberts. It consists of the papers read at the third of the annual congresses held by Irish historians in turn at the four university cities of Ireland. The titles of the papers show the breadth and interest of this excellent academic venture. They are—'Geographical Abstractions and the Historian', by Denys Hay; 'The Development of the Theory of the Temporal Authority of the Papacy by the Thirteenth Century Canonists', by John Watt; 'The Confederation of Kilkenny Reviewed', by J. C. Beckett; 'Chartism Reconsidered', by Asa Briggs; 'The Economic Ideas of Parnell', by F. S. L. Lyons; 'The Members of the Cape Parliament, 1814–1910', by J. L. McCracken.

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In principle, all books received by *History* are reviewed, mentioned in a short note, or put in the list of 'Other Books Received'. However, occasionally the editor, having sent out a book for review, is unable, in spite of repeated reminders, to obtain the review from the historian who accepted the book. When all hope of obtaining the review has finally been given up, the only thing we can do is to record the book here, with our apologies to the authors and publishers. The following books were sent out to reviewers in 1956.

CALENDAR OF THE CLOSE ROLLS; HENRY VII A.D. 1485–1500. Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office. H.M.S.O. 1956. vii + 498 pp. 105s.

THE PURSUIT OF SCIENCE IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA, 1735-1789. By Brooke Hindle. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press; London: O.U.P. 1956. xi + 410 pp. 6os.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ACCOUNTING. Edited by A. C. Littleton and B. S. Yamey. London: Sweet and Maxwell. 1956. 392 pp. 50s.

MERCHANTS AND MERCHANDISE IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BRISTOL. Edited by Patrick McGrath. Bristol Record Society, Vol. XIX. 1955. 315 pp. 27s. 6d.

AN ELIZABETHAN: SIR HORATIO PALAVICINO. By Lawrence Stone. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1956. 345 pp. 45s.

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The Annual General Meeting of the Historical Association is to be held from 20 to 23 April at University College and the Senate House of the University of London. The programme includes lectures by the President, Professor J. G. Edwards, and Professor D. B. Quinn, and lantern lectures on London history by Professor F. J. Fisher, Mr. T. F. Reddaway and Sir John Summerson.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

MEDIEVAL

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT: ST. AUGUSTINE TO OCKHAM. By Gordon Leff. Penguin Books. 1958. 317 pp. 3s. 6d.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN MEDIEVAL TIMES. By John B. Morrall. London: Hutchinson. 1958. 152 pp. 18s.

The legend that medieval thought was monochromatic and can be adequately described by the vague term 'scholasticism' will never be dispelled until books like Dr. Leff's attain the wide circulation they deserve. His admirable presentation of the bewildering variety of medieval teaching from the late patristic age to the fourteenth century is designed to make this point; as he says, medieval thought 'covers a diversity of phases, systems and attitudes', although there was, as he adds, the common framework of the Christian faith within which all thought was carried on—a framework which wore thin in the thirteenth century, when the impact of Arab interpretations of Aristotle brought in an Averroism barely Christian at best and pagan in some of its basic assumptions. It was the reaction from this which led to the stark theological transcendentalism of the fourteenth century and to the increasing tension between philosophy and theology at the end of the Middle Ages. Dr. Leff's exposition is singularly full and attractively presented: his book, although popular in intention, does not fall into the trap of undue simplification; the reader, especially if untrained in philosophical language and thinking, must be prepared to give it close attention and seek enlightenment by pondering on what he reads. If he does so he will enlarge considerably the horizon of his mind. In particular, he will realize the two vital turning points of medieval thought, the revolution produced by the dominance of dialectic in the twelfth century and the thirteenth-century crisis of faith already mentioned. Dr. Leff at times makes slips, his worst fault being to use the word 'hylomorphism' frequently in a restricted sense which could confuse those accustomed to its more general use to describe the Aristotelian doctrine of matter and form; this is accentuated by the fact that on p. 49 he appears to make Boethius the originator of that doctrine. He seems also to be unaware that Islam is as much committed to a doctrine of creation as are Judaism and Christianity; the Arab philosophers who abandoned it were untrue to their faith. Pelagianism is inaccurately described on pp. 52-3. It is stretching geographical terms to describe Bokhara as in Persia. There are, too, some occasional grammatical infelicities.

Mr. Morrall's book makes up for the inadequate treatment which space allows to political thought in Dr. Leff's work. It is a most agreeably written and cleverly succinct account of political theory from the age of Augustine to that of Machiavelli. He, too, is fully aware of the thirteenth century as a turning point, in this case from the notion of the state as, so to say, a Divine afterthought to restrict the unruliness of fallen man to that of the state as an essential part of the Divinely willed natural order. The great merit of the book is its avoidance of insignificant detail and too close analysis of individual

thinkers, which allows the author to show the broader movements of thought, of which individuals were but the torchbearers. For this reason it is eminently a book to place in the hands of those approaching medieval political theory without previous knowledge. Its author is also conscious of the interrelations of theory and actual political and administrative practice; too many writers have seemed to suggest that the medievals thought *in vacuo*. Some passages, however, call for revision. The description of Justinian's legal publications is notably inaccurate, and Thomists will hardly recognize the account given of the literary technique of the *Summa theologica*. The title of Beaumanoir's *Coutumes* is inaccurately given and *dominium* was a word familiar in Roman law before feudalism appeared, not a medieval coinage.

University College, Oxford

THOMAS M. PARKER

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS NO. 12 (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 287 pp. 8os.) is the twelfth Byzantine Miscellany to be published from Dumbarton Oaks, the international centre of Byzantine Studies at Washington. It has the same qualities as its predecessors; the articles are of uneven value and are frequently too brief for their subjects. Yet they include some items that no Byzantinist can safely ignore. The first 124 pages deal with aspects of fourth-century Greek patristics in a series of four essays. They should be of some interest to English patristic scholars even if at times these will be aghast at the sweeping generalizations and sharp antitheses. Next there is a detailed catalogue of some late Roman and Byzantine medallions in the Dumbarton Oaks collection—all of these are to be included later in a 'corpus'. Then M. Henri Stern provides an interesting interpretation of the mosaics in the Church of Santa Costanza at Rome. But it is not until p. 221 that the volume suddenly becomes indispensable to Byzantine studies. Sir Hamilton Gibb provides a brilliant essay on the Ummayad Caliphate as a successor state first to Byzantium and then to the Sassanians. This is followed by the third Preliminary Report by Dr. Paul Underwood on his work at the Kariye Cami at Constantinople, a magisterial account by a pure scholar of one of the most exciting episodes in the rediscovery of Byzantine art.

Blackfriars, Oxford

GERVASE MATHEW

RURAL ENGLAND, 1086–1135: A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND AGRARIAN CONDITIONS. By Reginald Lennard. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. 409 pp. 45s.

This work of Mr. Lennard's has been awaited, and it is pleasant to welcome it now. There is much in it to remind the Cambridge reader of Clapham: the same concreteness, the grasp of significant detail, the sense of the complexity of the economic and social scene, and the distrust of the over-simple generalization about trends and directions. These qualities are particularly fruitful when applied to the Norman period precisely because, in Domesday Book, 'the English historian first acquires an instrument of knowledge superior to anything available for any other land'. Domesday in fact, supplemented by its satellites and the surveys of the next generation, makes feasible a relatively detailed description of the social and economic structure of that time. Such a description demands infinite patience and exact scholarship, but this is exactly what Mr. Lennard has given us. It does not always make

easy reading for the uninitiated, but it will be for the future a firm basis from which to look backwards or forwards into periods less comprehensively documented; and perhaps to concern ourselves rather more than it is his intention to do with the directions and the dimensions of economic and social change.

A selection of matters for mention from a book so filled with substantial detail must inevitably reflect in part no more than the special interests of a reviewer. Very often, too, it is the detail itself which is so illuminating—the picture of landlords and their estates in Oxfordshire, the revelation of Ernulf de Hesdin as an improving landlord and the like. At the same time, nothing which has been said above ought to carry with it the impression of an excessive narrowness of approach. Mr. Lennard, for example, does not neglect the parish church among the social institutions of his villages, and has much to say not easily found elsewhere about the development of parochial organization, the status of the village clergy, and the relations of patron and priest. But he also has important things to say on matters which have occupied more of the attention of social and economic historians. He warns us against the tendency to exaggerate the emptiness of the land in Norman times, due in part to the considerable number of composite entries in Domesday which conceal the existence of settlements in apparently empty spaces. Again, he shows that regional differences were less sharp than they have sometimes been supposed to be, even if he will not quite jettison the imprint of Celt or Dane as some seem inclined to do. Thus, he envisages hamlet and nucleated village as types of settlement coexisting in many parts rather than characteristic of different parts of the country (as Dr. Hoskins, too, has argued), vouches Derbyshire to warranty for disparities in social and economic organization in a limited territory, and Wiltshire and Berkshire for non-manorial elements well outside the Danelaw.

In these ways he has made the Domesday landscape more real; but he has also illustrated systematically for the first time how prevalent was the 'farming' of demesne manors. This seems, indeed, to have been almost the norm of management in Norman times, at least on the larger estates. The 'farms', moreover, seem commonly to have taken the form of stock and land leases and to have represented a survival of pre-Conquest practice. This is an important matter in itself, and at the same time compels us to ask ourselves to what extent it also contributed to that dissolution of manorial structure which Professor Postan has discerned in the twelfth century. A further point also emerges from Mr. Lennard's study of leases. A cash component was an important element in the leasehold incomes of landlords, and in conjunction with the evidence he assembles for cash payments by the peasantry indicates a far more widespread 'money economy' in Norman England than has always been assumed.

Finally, it is right that the present reviewer should say something of Mr. Lennard's estimates of peasant economic standing based upon Domesday plough-team data; and to admit that, while such data cannot provide an exact yardstick to measure the disparity of peasant holdings over a wide area, it would indeed be a display of excessive scepticism to deny the cumulative force of his manipulation of it in conjunction with other evidence from the Middlesex Domesday, the Ely Inquest and like sources. He has evidently got as near as we are ever likely to get to a statistical statement of the variations

in peasant holdings in 1086. In this as in much else the searchlight he has used to illumine the darkness of the countryside in Norman England has not failed him. In the end, too, he brings us back to his beginning. The differences in economic standing among the peasantry are doubtless a consequence of many things, but amongst others of the growth of population, the extension of settlement and transactions in land over many generations. These features characterizing Norman rural society are familiar in the more abundant records of the thirteenth century; and the very fact that they exist at both these points of time reminds us that the England William conquered 'was already an old country', already relatively well settled, and already the home of rural communities many of which had a very long history.

St. John's College, Cambridge

EDWARD MILLER

EARLY FRANCISCAN GOVERNMENT. By Rosalind B. Brooke. Cambridge University Press. 1959. xiv + 313 pp. 40s.

It has been said of all great religious movements that within a generation of their founder's death they tend to 'fade into the light of common day'. This is particularly true of the Franciscans, among whom the heritage of a great saint is assumed to have been debased by successors who simply wanted to come to terms with the world. But it is too easy to dismiss the ministers who followed S. Francis as mere administrators, and to forget the really valuable work which they did for the organization and scholarship of the friars. A study of the work of the rulers of the order from the time of Elias to that of S. Bonaventure is therefore especially welcome, because it does tardy justice to a series of men who have deserved very well of posterity. Mrs. Brooke has dealt in a most scholarly and sympathetic way with the history of the order between 1226 and 1260. It is a great pleasure to read a work which discards generalizations and deals instead with the factual history of individual friars. Although an order founded by a poet and a mystic must of necessity lose something when it is adapted to the needs of ordinary people, it is clear that the ministers who followed S. Francis had their own distinctive contribution to make, particularly in the field of scholarship. Even Elias, who has often been represented as the man who perverted the original ideas of the founder, seems to have been at first a devoted follower, whose later troubles were due at least in part to illness and to the pernicious influence of over-mighty friends. It was not the worldliness of the early ministers which drove the 'spirituals' first into revolt and then into heresy, for at least until 1260 the men who guided the order seem to have been far more concerned with 'true religion and sound learning' than with the red tape which so regrettably entangled many of their successors in the following century. It is an illuminating comment upon the work of Franciscan leaders at this time to find John of Parma using the writings of Julius Caesar—which he obviously assumed to be familiar to his followers—to teach a lesson in humble and efficient co-operation.

Mrs. Brooke has done some most interesting work in establishing the dates of early Franciscan legislation, and her book is a thoroughly scholarly piece of research; but I think it gave me particular pleasure as a book in which the early Franciscans emerged from their rather stereotyped place in 'ecclesiastical history' and were treated as individuals in their own right. My only criticisms of this book are that the frontispiece—in my copy at

least—seems to have been insecurely bound into the text, that if in the index Dominicans are distinguished by the letters O.P. St. Dominic himself should surely have this honour, and that Mrs. Brooke, in common with many Western scholars, treats the Greek Church rather harshly. The question of the Procession of the Holy Ghost is surely at least as important as that of obedience to the papacy. The book is highly original, and to be commended both to systematic scholars of the period and to readers who want to enjoy a good and comprehensible study of early Franciscan history.

Westfield College, London

ROSALIND HILL

YORK METROPOLITAN JURISDICTION AND PAPAL JUDGES DELEGATE (1279–1296), by Robert Brentano (University of California Press: C.U.P. 1959. ix + 293 pp. \$6), is very much better than most doctoral theses polished up for publication. It has not only the usual merit of painstaking close research but also those rarer qualities of understanding, urbanity, and wit. This study of metropolitan authority and papal delegations in action really does improve our knowledge of the thirteenth-century church. About half the book is concerned with the great lawsuit between York and Durham, which I once thought rather tedious, but which Dr. Brentano prefers to regard as a 'sophisticated tangle', and most of the appendices and the four plates are connected with it. But earlier chapters on the office of metropolitan, the province of York and its administration, the people involved, and York's relations with Carlisle and Whithorn make the dispute fully intelligible and, to use one of the author's favourite words, meaningful. Dr. Brentano's great achievement is to have breathed life into a subject which almost resists animation.

University of Exeter

F. BARLOW

STUDIES PRESENTED TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE HISTORY OF REPRESENTATIVE AND PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS, Vol. XVIII. Louvain: Publications Universitaires; Paris: Editions Béatrice-Nauwelaerts. 1958. 261 pp. 290 fr. belg.

This volume consists of papers read to the Commission at the tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences at Rome in 1955. There are thirteen papers in all, with a preface by Miss Helen Cam. They range widely, from the Capetian period to the eighteenth century, and through most of Europe, from Aragon to Hungary and from Italy to Sweden. As Miss Cam points out, the chief concern of most of them is with the working, rather than with the origins and theory, of representative institutions. Nevertheless, there are some important contributions to the history of political theory, from Professor Grignaschi on William of Ockham and Marsilio of Padua and from Dr. de Lagarde on Theories of Representation and the Church in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Three papers will be of special interest to English readers. Dr. Lönnroth contributes a convenient and concise summary of the development of representative institutions in medieval Sweden. Dr. Koenigsberger provides a highly illuminating account of the States General of the Netherlands in the century before the Revolt. This is based on material from the Brussels Archives and from works which do not normally come to the hand of English readers. It traces the origins of some of the institutional aspects of the Revolt in the earlier, Burgundian, period, without losing sight

of the social and religious issues which arose in the sixteenth century. Finally, Professor Caroline Robbins writes on the explanations of the survival of the English Parliament which were current in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This provides a useful bibliography and is a mine of information. It is a pity that Miss Robbins has done little more than collect material; she has made no attempt to indicate the political influences at work on these writers, or trace their interdependence and especially the indebtedness of continental to English writers.

The concentration of most of these essays on practice rather than theory has its value. It is clear that, throughout western Europe, economic and financial matters were of major importance in the development and operation of estates. The Swedish peasants only established themselves as an estate when the development of mining produced industrial and commercial groups able to lead them. The first combined meetings of the estates of the Netherland provinces, in 1430 and 1434, were concerned with the high price of English wool and the competition of English cloth. This is known ground to readers familiar with the close association of the English Parliament with the wool trade in the fourteenth century.

On the theoretical side, these essays are not, perhaps, so rewarding. Dr. Langmuir draws important distinctions between counsel and consent in his discussion of the Capetian Assemblies. Dr. de Lagarde, however, is less successful. The evidence he presents does not substantiate his argument that the idea of representation was formulated and developed principally by churchmen to deal with ecclesiastical problems. Nor does it substantiate the cycle he constructs of a preponderance of ecclesiastical ideas in the fourteenth century, of overriding secular influences in the Conciliar period and of a renewed period of the preponderance of ecclesiastical ideas in the later fifteenth century. This distinction between clerk and lay, and between their views and assumptions, is easily driven too far. Scratch a bishop and we find a baron. Scratch a baron and we find, if not a bishop, at least sometimes a monk. Scratch any one of them and the lawyer is soon revealed. Christendom was a unity in more senses than one.

University of Nottingham

J. C. HOLT

There is rather more in THE HOUSEHOLD OF EDWARD IV by A. R. Myers (Manchester University Press. 1959. 315 pp. 45s.) than the title suggests. In addition to a careful transcript of the Black Book of the Household of Edward IV there are illustrative and supporting ordinances of 1445, 1471 and 1478 and a contemporary estimate of the expenditure of the Royal Household under Henry VII. Although the Black Book has been available in print since 1790—copies, however, being almost as scarce as the manuscripts—the text was hurriedly printed from an inadequate version and has led to some misunderstanding.

Now for the first time, effectively, it is possible to understand just how magnificent the royal court was expected to be at the end of the fifteenth century and what precautions were taken to ensure that splendour was accompanied by safeguards against extravagance and abuse. There are a number of explanatory and illustrative notes, some of them highly condensed, and select glossaries, Latin, English and French. It is often necessary to turn to these, but those for whom the volume is intended could have been

assumed to know that *comes* is translated as 'earl' and that an apron was 'an article of dress worn in front of the body to protect the clothes from dirt'. The Lists of Principal Officers of the Yorkist royal household correct some statements in the unsatisfactory *History of Parliament 1439-1509* (ed. Wedgwood) and provide convenient points for further study. In a complex work of this kind we can forgive a number of minor misprints, for these admirably edited documents help us to understand an important reign much better.

University of Sheffield

G. R. POTTER

JACOPO SADOLETO 1477-1547, HUMANIST AND REFORMER. By Richard M.

Douglas. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xvi + 307 pp. 40s.

Much of the best work in English on European history in the sixteenth century now comes from scholars in the United States, who are often able to bring a refreshingly new slant to well-worn themes. From Harvard comes Mr. Douglas' book dealing with a prominent personality among the humanistically-minded Catholic reformers of the pre-Tridentine era whose 'third force' ambitions to prevent the disruption of Christendom and to reform the old Church on lines morally and administratively drastic but dogmatically and intellectually expansive, have always aroused sympathetic interest among historians. Up to now there has been little to read on Sadolet in English and this book fills a gap. Without sounding any strikingly original note Mr. Douglas succeeds in presenting an illuminating picture of his subject. His work is learned and readable and based on wide original research. But it portrays a disappointed, ineffectual and somewhat isolated man. Sadolet's life—like his character—was in a sense schizophrenic, divided between periods of scholarly episcopal repose at Carpentras (in the papal territory of the Comtat Venaissin) and spells of more active existence in Rome, where in middle life he was a papal secretary while the two Medici Popes were refashioning the papal secretariat, and in his later years a Cardinal under Paul III. His scholarship and accomplishments caused him to be generally regarded as a man of weight. He was a member of the famous papal commission that drew up the drastic reform proposals of 1537, papal legate to France in 1542, a possible legate for the Council of Trent, a member of the important consultative Roman Committee for the Council during its first sessions of 1545-7, and was even regarded in some quarters as *papabile*. But in his chosen rôles of controversialist and mediator he was not a success. His scholarly and independent mind found expression in views that were too personal, too much lacking in form to carry conviction to others or to command a following. In the great issues of Grace and Justification his temperament and his classical outlook inclined him towards the Pelagian rather than the Lutheran side. While figures like Contarini, Morone and Pole, with whom he was in other ways associated, shared the 'evangelical' outlook of the *Trattato del Beneficio di Gesu Christo* with its doctrine of Justification by Faith, Sadolet's writings on Justification fell under mild, but firm, Roman censure for transgression in the other direction. Perhaps for this reason, he never fell out with Caraffa as these others did. But in this as in other doctrinal respects he showed, as Mr. Douglas puts it, 'the untheological quality of . . . his doctrinal thinking as well as his ignorance of scholastic thought'. His sharp criticism of the Tridentine decree on the Vulgate (1546) was echoed, however, in the highest places in Rome. But in the large his Erasmian

outlook was becoming increasingly suspect in Roman circles at his death in 1547. He knew too much of Rome to harbour many illusions by that time, though he was capable of seeing the better things in the beginnings of the Tridentine spirit.¹

Trinity College, Cambridge

H. O. EVENNETT

ENCYCLOPÉDIE GÉNÉALOGIQUE DES MAISONS SOUVERAINES DU MONDE, I, LES MÉROVINGIENS, II, LES CAROLINGIENS, III, LES CAPÉTIENS DIRECTS, written and published by Docteur Gaston Sirjean (Paris. 1959), is a labour of love rather than a work of scholarship.

THE LIFE OF SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS: BIOGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS, translated and edited with an introduction by Kenelm Foster (London: Longmans. 1959. xii + 172 pp. 30s.) is an attractive and scholarly work, even though Aquinas the man is hardly as interesting as his philosophy.

EARLY MODERN

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CARDINAL WOLSEY. By George Cavendish. Ed. by R. S. Sylvester. O.U.P. for Early English Text Society. 1959. xli + 304 pp. 35s.

At this late date Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* hardly needs either introduction or praise, but the appearance of a new edition presents a welcome opportunity for renewing one's acquaintance with one of the finest biographies in the language and one of the best books produced by the sixteenth century. Out of such re-reading Cavendish comes splendidly. His loyal and sensible mind shines through the work; his style is both clear and graceful, though entirely artless; his matter is fascinating and convincing. No doubt the long account of Wolsey's fall, last year and death takes the palm, but all the book is full of excellent description, graphic detail, successful characterization. As a historical source its value is enhanced by Cavendish's obvious honesty (though this does not save him from errors, some of them serious) and especially by his invariable habit of explaining whether he was present or not at a scene he describes. He uses direct speech freely but only when he heard it delivered, and though now and again, after nearly thirty years, his memory will have been at fault, there is no reason to doubt the essential accuracy of even such long orations as those made at the Blackfriars trial of the divorce. At times his plain reporting rises to the vigour of true art: it is impossible to think that the exchange between Henry VIII and Bishop Fisher at that trial did not happen in exactly the way he tells it. Above all the work reveals how the rich really lived in the Tudor age, a matter less easily discovered or understood than might be thought.

Professor Sylvester has prepared a careful edition in the best tradition of the series in which it appears. This unfortunately means that he has reproduced not only Cavendish's spelling (which is at it should be) but also his punctuation, a bad obstacle to reading and of no significant value. Thus

¹ The statement in n. 47 on p. 393 that the Pope issued an order for the translation of the Council of Trent to Bologna on 17 Feb. 1547 is untrue (*pace* Brandi, who withdrew it in his second volume) and should be corrected when opportunity offers.

readers may still prefer to use Singer's well-known edition of 1827, especially as Singer's errors would appear to have been few and unimportant. However, it is all to the good to have a really scholarly version of so important a book, based on a careful study of the manuscripts and equipped with plentiful notes. These notes are on the whole sound—helpful where help is required and accurate enough. Mr. Sylvester has relied heavily on Pollard's *Wolsey*, as was only right, but there are signs that he may not be primarily an historian. The glossary contains some very obvious words which one would not have thought called for elucidation ('bowelles' or 'condygn' or 'symply', for instance, surely required no transcription into modern spelling) and some doubtful interpretations (a close stool is not a chamber pot!). Some of the notes rely on peculiar sources; the *O.E.D.* is not the best authority for institutions of government, and Mr. Sylvester says odd things on the clerk of the pipe or the court of chancery. The 'check-roll' of the household (list of establishment) had nothing to do with 'keeping a check on the other servants in the fulfilment of their duties'. One of Cavendish's muddles (concerning Thomas Cromwell's entry into the 1529 Parliament) is here left uncorrected although it has been cleared up in a book to which Mr. Sylvester refers elsewhere. Altogether, Cromwell (as usual) attracts misinterpretation, especially when he himself is accused of this sin in a note which surprisingly (and without evidence) alleges that he was in Wolsey's service as early as 1514. And the ghost of R. W. Chambers seems still to hover over the E.E.T.S., calling up compulsively the shade of Sir Thomas More even in a book which ostentatiously never mentions him. A council speech of 1530 is ascribed to him on general and unprovable grounds and because Cavendish might have had the story from him; yet a few lines later Cavendish himself reveals that he learned it from Cromwell. However, these small blemishes in no way deprive a learned and careful piece of work of its essential value. Scholars, at any rate, will in future have to use this edition and no other.

Clare College, Cambridge

G. R. ELTON

THE TYRANNOUS REIGN OF MARY STEWART: GEORGE BUCHANAN'S ACCOUNT. Translated and edited by W. A. Gatherer (Edinburgh University Press. 1958. xii + 228 pp. 25s.) gives us English texts of the three books of Buchanan's *History of Scotland* in which he deals with the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, his famous indictment of Mary known as the *Detectio*, and *An Admonition to the True Lords*, written against the Hamiltons after the assassination of the Regent Moray. Dr. Gatherer has subjected the statements in his texts to an exhaustive test against other evidence, and embodies this critical work in an impressive array of footnotes, that might be compared for their quality and value with the magnificent notes appended to Hay Fleming's biography of Mary. The detail and care manifested are beyond praise; and any scholar who in future uses Buchanan will bless Mr. Gatherer for the labour he has expended. The texts are prefaced by a critical study of Buchanan as historian: an interesting and valuable essay, which argues—as the texts and notes demonstrate—that even in the *History* Buchanan wrote as a partisan and not objectively. The *Detectio*, indeed, is well worth reading to appreciate the violence of Buchanan's prejudice against Mary. Impressive as Mr. Gatherer's critical labours have been, they may perhaps strike the student of today, who has so many and such superior sources at his disposal,

as treating Buchanan too seriously. Even Camden—a much more impartial contemporary historian—is nowadays rarely of value for establishing the facts of English history. As a matter of fact, as we peruse Mr. Gatherer's notes to the *History*, we might even be surprised at the degree of reliability in Buchanan's facts. Surely, however, his work is all but dead as a serious historical source today.

University College, London

J. E. NEALE

STUDIES IN ELIZABETHAN FOREIGN TRADE. By T. S. Willan. Manchester University Press. 1959. 349 pp. 35s.

This volume comprises a collection of four brief essays, dealing respectively with the rôle of the factor or agent, interlopers and the staple, the foreign trade of the provincial ports and sugar as an element in English overseas trade, and one very long essay, broken up into nine sections, relating to the trade with Morocco. In the first three essays, described as 'preliminary surveys', the author prints much interesting information. He discusses the origin and meaning of the terms 'interloper', 'outleaper' and 'outloper'; he observes that the concentration of foreign trade through London was such that historians have been led to 'devote their attention to the metropolis rather than to the provinces'; attempting to correct the balance, he estimates the London proportion of the total foreign trade of the kingdom at possibly two-thirds to three-quarters; he stresses, too, the mobility of Elizabethan society. His essay on sugar he modestly describes as 'a frivolous excursion into the no-man's-land that lies between economic and social history'.

The major part of the volume (roughly two-thirds of the whole) is concerned with the Moroccan trade, its origins and growth, the incorporation of the Barbary merchants, who they were and what they did. Here the author, drawing extensively from unprinted English sources as well as from the massive work of de Castries, has made a substantial contribution to knowledge of the subject; his investigation of the detailed records of 'The Leicester partnership', now in Christ Church Library, Oxford, is of special interest. Though we may a little regret that the tortuous internal politics of Morocco receive scant treatment, and this was surely crucial, we may perhaps allow Dr. Willan's own claim (in his Preface) that 'it is doubtful whether any future work would seriously modify the picture here presented'.

The volume has been carefully produced. There appear to be few misprints and fewer mistakes.¹ A pedant might wish to argue that 'free trade' meant more to the Tudor merchant than to be 'free from the restrictions imposed by monopolistic companies': as in the famous case of the complaint of the Guinea merchants in 1555, what was wanted was freedom also from the restrictions imposed by foreign governments. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe that the charter conferred in 1588 on a group of London and Exeter merchants to trade to Senegambia was authorized by Dom Antonio. There were at this time two groups of merchants pressing for recognition by the English government. The claim of the London and Exeter group was preferred by the Privy Council partly because it had the backing of the Portuguese exile; and those merchants were empowered to trade to Senegambia. The interesting point is that within four years a dispute enabled

¹ John Dowglassee becomes John Gowglassee (p. 9); there are misprints on pp. 15 and 130; Juan (p. 140) would be better written João.

the second group of merchants, mainly from Taunton, to gain the ear of the government and to be granted a charter to trade to the region of Sierra Leone. In each case (1588 and 1592) the grant was for ten years. Which then was the Guinea Company?

When is a company not a company? We might quarrel with the narrow, legalistic interpretation which Dr. Willan puts upon the term 'company'. He himself recognizes that 'companies' or 'partnerships' could exist apparently without any sort of recognition by government. If the conferment of a charter creates a 'company', then admittedly neither Barbary Company nor Guinea Company existed in 1555 (*cf.* footnote on p. 103). But is the existence of a legal instrument the only issue? What of the views of contemporaries? What surely matters most is what is in the minds of men; and if a witness alleges in court that unpaid wages (February 1555) 'remayned in the stocke of the company' [the Guinea Company], then it is not bad history to assume that a company existed. Confusion can arise from the meaning which a historian puts upon the words he uses.

As a whole, this is a learned, detailed, thorough, if rather pedestrian, book, and indispensable to all serious students of Tudor overseas trade. Dr. Willan confirms the reputation for exact and meticulous scholarship previously established in his studies on the Muscovy and coasting trades.

University College of North Staffordshire

J. W. BLAKE

In ENGLISH PRIVATEERING VOYAGES TO THE WEST INDIES, 1588-95 (C.U.P. for the Hakluyt Society. 1959. xxviii + 421 pp. 40s.) Dr. K. R. Andrews has drawn on a new category of information to supplement the rich material already available in Hakluyt and in Miss Irene Wright's editions of the Spanish documents. By drawing attention to the value for maritime history of the sober records of the High Court of Admiralty he has performed a special service, for with their accusations and replies, their examinations and depositions of witnesses, they provide a wealth of material on the fortunes of these ventures. Not only do they disclose some details of hitherto unknown expeditions, but they also throw light on the matter-of-fact arrangements of setting out and financing the voyages, and on the nature of the spoils and the quarrels they provoked. Every historically minded reader will welcome the many absolutely first-hand narratives of stirring action. For the specialist, here is confirmation of the increasing Spanish capacity to defend those West Indian interests which were regarded as vital. A sharp contrast is evident between the effortless preying on coastwise shipping and minor settlements, and the sharp rebuffs which met assaults on those objectives—whether towns or fleets—which the Spaniards took real trouble to guard. It is noteworthy that the greatest prize of these expeditions, the treasure ship *Madre de Dios*, was not captured in the West Indies at all, but by returning privateers in the Azores. By this date, the typical proceeds of English activity in the Caribbean were prosaic staples of trade, such as sugar and hides, rather than gold, silver and precious stones. Dr. Andrews' introduction, which includes a discussion of the High Court of Admiralty records and of the general background of English privateering, is a model of lucidity, and the whole volume makes a noteworthy contribution to the Hakluyt Society's series.

University of Hull

RALPH DAVIS

MOUNTJOY, 1563-1606: THE LAST ELIZABETHAN DEPUTY, by Frederick M. Jones (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds; London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1958. 232 pp. 21s.), is the second, and the more satisfactory, recent study of this able, cultured, and most successful of Queen Elizabeth's commanders and rulers in Ireland. It is based on a thorough study of printed sources, with the occasional aid of fresh manuscript material. Unlike Professor Falls, who tried to give the proportions of a biography to his study of the man and was led into many digressions, Mr. Jones accepts both the paucity and the wealth of his evidence and therefore devotes two-thirds of his volume to Mountjoy's three and a half years in Ireland. In effect, it is a study in Irish history, and is all the better for that. Though the author's political and religious sympathies are with the Irish, they do not prevent him from appreciating Mountjoy's qualities as a statesman as well as a soldier. Indeed, his sympathies find a response in the liberal and tolerant mind of Mountjoy, and the stress laid on this is a valuable feature of the book, as is an appendix which prints in full a Hatfield manuscript containing Mountjoy's suggestions for the government of Ireland. The author is to be congratulated on a sound and readable contribution to Anglo-Irish history.

University College, London

J. E. NEALE

BUSINESS AND POLITICS UNDER JAMES I. LIONEL CRANFIELD AS MERCHANT AND MINISTER. By R. H. Tawney. Cambridge University Press. 1958. xii + 325 pp. 40s.

This splendid volume is a landmark in the study and understanding of the reign of King James I. For many years to come any enquiry into the business life of London during this period, or into the administrative history of James's government, or into public finance, or into politics at Whitehall, or into the intertwining connections of all four, must take account of Professor Tawney's masterly study of the career of Lionel Cranfield.

The volume is not a biography in the ordinary sense, though Cranfield's life is closely followed and gives coherence to the story. Rather it is a vivid portrayal of the economic and political world in which Cranfield moved with such vigour and business acumen. Thus, as a background for Cranfield's two decades as a merchant in the City (from 1590 to about 1613), Professor Tawney sketches in a fascinating way the general pattern of European trade. The great bulk of English foreign commerce still remained in the hands of the Merchant Adventurers whose trade followed old-established lines in the Low Countries and in Germany. After his apprenticeship, Cranfield set up for himself in 1597, exporting fine cloth to Middelburg, Amsterdam and Flushing, and cheaper kerseys to Stade and to other North German cities. His imports consisted largely of expensive Italian fabrics and of other luxury items for the fashionable world at Court. By 1600 he was a power in the City. With the profits acquired in commerce he moved into the position of a capitalist with wealthy associates in London and with influential connections at Court. The opening years of James's reign brought unusual opportunities to men of this type. Economic prosperity encouraged speculative enterprise. The Government, in part because of its poverty, offered valuable concessions for ready cash. Cranfield bought and sold shares in the farms of the Customs, he speculated in Crown lands thrown on the market in wholesale lots, he financed the exploitation of grants and patents bestowed by the

King upon his favourites. In return for such enticing opportunities, a capitalist was expected to lend money to the Government; and Cranfield entered syndicates in the City to raise loans for the State. Apart from these transactions, he acted as a banker. He received money for deposit; he was entrusted with private funds to be laid out at interest; he lent money to needy aristocrats on the security of their estates. He was the shrewd, hard, pushing magnate of the City with a hand in countless deals.

He became an official in 1613 when he was appointed Surveyor-General of the Customs with broad powers of initiative and control. Very shortly he was advocating a sweeping reform by which he hoped to render impositions less obnoxious through merging them with other duties, and to shift the principal burden of the Customs from exports to imports, from necessities to luxuries, from the English to the foreign merchant. The plan was shelved, but Cranfield continued as an adviser of the Government upon commercial and fiscal problems.

For many years before he obtained high office he pondered the larger problems of public finance. The bulk of the King's revenues were derived from sources that were legally his; but they were inflexible, so that the Crown had little share in the expanding wealth of the nation, save indirectly through enlarged receipts from the Customs. The task of a Lord Treasurer, therefore, was similar to that of a manager of a private estate. If income could not be materially increased, prudence demanded that resources be husbanded and expenditure reduced; for the King, like any private person, was in immediate difficulty if he lived beyond his means. Accepting these fiscal limitations, Cranfield saw the solution in sharp enquiry, in reduced expenditure, and in improved administration. There must be a new austerity at Court. The King must moderate his maudlin extravagance; the rapacious courtiers about him must be held in check. The relations of the Government with those from whom it purchased goods or borrowed money must be placed upon a strictly business footing. Above all, the antiquated, inept and dishonest administration by which revenues were collected and disbursed must be overhauled.

The penury of the Crown in 1617 was so abject that even King James recognized the necessity for reform. An economy drive began, and Cranfield was given his opportunity. In one department after another—in the Household, in the Navy, in the Wardrobe, in the Treasury—he introduced economies and strengthened administration. Professor Tawney remarks of Cranfield's business associate Sir Arthur Ingram that he combined the attributes of poacher and gamekeeper; and the same may be said of Cranfield himself. He could deal with capitalists and tradesmen because he knew all their dodges. Yet he possessed fine qualities—courage, industry, zeal, a sense of public duty. He now rose rapidly to high office. In 1616 he became a Master of Requests; in 1618 Master of the Great Wardrobe; in 1619 Master of the Court of Wards and Chief Commissioner of the Navy; in 1620 a Privy Councillor; in 1621 Baron Cranfield and Lord Treasurer; in 1622 Earl of Middlesex. But he found his task as Lord Treasurer to be impossible. The foreign policy of the Crown was very costly, the City alienated, the Parliament hostile, the King incorrigible. Cranfield fought on, his back to the wall. But he made a host of enemies; and the hostility of Charles and Buckingham easily produced his impeachment in 1624.

The Scots Earl of Dunbar, though not an amiable person, was no 'courtly

'nonentity'; the reviewer's biography of King James should not be listed among primary sources. But this volume, with its magnificent blending of broad generalization and minute detail, its depth and insight, and its felicitous phrasing, calls not for criticism but for the highest praise. The present reviewer, however, would have laid greater stress upon the vile rôle of Buckingham in dragging down the standards and practice of government. Monopolizing patronage, he turned it into a vicious system of spoliation and blackmail, thus reducing the State to a far more deplorable condition than had existed while Salisbury was the King's chief minister. There could be no lasting reform while Buckingham remained in power.

University of Minnesota

D. H. WILLSON

Robert Cecil, the great Burghley's son, has long awaited a biographer, but Miss P. M. Handover, in her book *THE SECOND CECIL* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1959. xii + 332 pp. 42s.), expressly disclaims any intention of filling the gap. She describes the work in her preface as 'a chart of Cecilian policy before 1604'; her sub-title is 'The Rise to Power 1563–1604 of Sir Robert Cecil'. The latter would seem to indicate 1596, or even 1591, as the more appropriate finishing-point; the former suggests a break in policy in 1604, which did indeed threaten at first, but was fended off (as Miss Handover clearly demonstrates) through the skill with which the Elizabethan minister handled the new king, until Cecil's death in 1612.

It is not easy to see for whom the book is intended. Serious scholars will not be content with a study of Cecil's statecraft which leaves out his handling of Gunpowder Plot, of the Scottish union, of the Great Contract, and of James's first parliament in general, nor with one which taps few unfamiliar sources and does not venture even into the uncalendared part of the Hatfield collection. The often jejune 'background' commentaries suggest rather that the author has in mind that elusive character the 'general reader', for whose benefit she provides ingenious but often exasperating chapter-headings and thoughtfully (but not always correctly) translates her Latin tags. A much more serious matter is her tendency to over-simplify issues, as when she writes of the pre-1588 Puritans as a 'sect' some of whom wished to 'abolish' the Church of England. But will the general reader be attracted by a character whom the author herself finds 'intimidating, aloof and formidable', even although he be presented (as he is here) in a readable narrative marked by many vivid touches and shrewd judgements and well embellished with portraits? For almost half the book, indeed, Burghley is the real hero, his son little more than a highly competent understudy; even after that the spotlight keeps darting away from the player of the title-rôle to the more dazzling figure of his rival Essex; and obviously there is not much new to be said about either Burghley or Essex—certainly not in a book of this compass. The younger Cecil's great service was to provide a link between two reigns—even two eras; to break the link is to leave both the man and his policy unexplained.

A. H. DODD

ENDYMION PORTER: THE LIFE OF A COURTIER 1587–1649. By Gervas Huxley. London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. 344 pp. 25s.

This is something more than a work of family piety. Mr. Huxley makes a

good deal of his ancestor's artistic interests and is properly sympathetic to him in his later troubles. But he is well aware of a hardness in him that pushed him through 'the gilded bottleneck' of Buckingham's patronage into the service of Charles I. Endymion—the use of the incongruous Christian name is catching—needed, like every other courtier with a 'port' to maintain, to grasp his opportunities, but he was more enterprising than most. He dabbled in salt and soap, backed interlopers, drained fens (by proxy, of course), and collected leases, wardships and receiverships. There was no more searching discoverer of other people's abuses, yet he managed to get a licence to enclose a common at a time when official policy frowned on the self-seeking landlord. Not all of his investments paid off, but on the most pessimistic view he did not do badly. His portraits reveal a man who has lived well and liked it. Looking at those florid features it is easy to see why 'courtier' was a term of abuse in some circles.

Material for some aspects of Endymion's career is lacking and Mr. Huxley has to pad with conjectures and digressions into affairs with which he was only slightly if at all connected. Here there are slips—Charles was not granted tonnage and poundage for a year in 1625, and the levellers were certainly not communists, or even socialists. But these are minor flaws in a stylish and entertaining biography.

University College, Cardiff

IVAN ROOTS

Strafford's stock is falling. Following Mr. J. P. Cooper's recent demonstration that in the matter of building a fortune out of the service of the state Strafford was in the Duke of Buckingham's class, comes Dr. Hugh F. Kearney's *SRAFFORD IN IRELAND 1633-41: A STUDY IN ABSOLUTISM* (Manchester University Press. 1959. xviii + 294 pp. 35s.). Dr. Kearney's case is that there is little to justify the picture of the Lord Deputy 'leading a crusade against the vested interests of a corrupt society in the name of a higher, traditional social code'; that his policies with regard to land and economic development were much like those of his predecessors; that thoughts of private profit were never far from his mind; that his phenomenal success in doubling the Irish revenues was bought at a disastrous price in its exasperation of the old-established Anglo-Irish gentry and merchants, while his religious policy equally dangerously alienated both Scottish planters and protestant 'new' English. Whether or not these judgements are accepted in full, there is no doubt that the evidence here set forth will necessitate a drastic reassessment of Strafford's career in Ireland. Moreover, the value of Dr. Kearney's very thorough and original researches does not by any means stand or fall by his conclusions upon Strafford's personal achievement. His investigation into the operations of the Court of Castle Chamber, the Commission for Defective Titles and the Irish Court of Wards, his study of the political pressures at work in the 1634 parliament (whose membership is analysed county by county in a long appendix), his surveys of trade, manufacture and public finance in early seventeenth-century Ireland, and the light he throws on the background to the Irish Rebellion, all add indispensably to our knowledge of a crucial stage in both Irish and English history. With regard to Strafford himself, however, one senses a shade less detachment than the level and dispassionate tone of the book would suggest; zeal in stripping his subject of

sentimentalism and false apologetics has occasionally tempted Dr. Kearney into the rôle of counsel for the prosecution. Certainly he has made intelligible as never before the fears which Strafford's ruthless temper and despotic methods inspired in the Long Parliament. But to affirm that he was 'typical of the general run of seventeenth-century politicians', and close both in spirit and practice to his adversary the Earl of Cork, is surely to miss a world of difference. Greatly as he enriched himself from his official position, his biggest profits were only by-products of the large accessions of revenue he was bringing to the exchequer. Both in this and in the scale of the risks he accepted he stands far above the mere parasites. And profit, of course, was not then incompatible with principle. Which other of King Charles's servants, Laud excepted, was ready to stake life, reputation and inheritance on the survival of his master's régime? There is also a certain unbalance in an approach which peers so closely into the motives of Strafford's actions, while remaining largely silent or neutral concerning those of Cork, Mountnorris, Loftus, Wilmot, Clanrickarde and the rest. Any judgement upon Strafford's deputyship must take some account of what manner of men he had to deal with, and here Dr. Kearney has helped us less than he might have done. And is his final verdict of overwhelming failure really justified? The rebellions in Scotland and Ulster, and the predicament to which they reduced the King in England, were not of Strafford's making, and we cannot know what would have been the course of Irish politics had these events not supervened.

University of Leeds

A. H. WOOLRYCH

THE KING'S WAR, 1641-1647. By C. V. Wedgwood. London: Collins. 1958.

703 pp. 35s.

The first volume of Miss Wedgwood's projected trilogy on what we are no longer allowed to call the Puritan Revolution appeared under the title *The King's Peace* in 1955, and was briefly noticed in this Journal in the following year (xli. 234-5). It was on a scale approximating that of Gardiner in covering the same events. The present volume, carrying the story forward as far as the Scots' surrender of the King to Parliament, is not much more than half as long as Gardiner's narrative, and approaches events from a slightly different standpoint. More stress is laid on local struggles as distinct from the main campaigns, and the story (though told with scrupulous fairness) is, as the author puts it, that of the King's defeat rather than of Parliament's victory. Miss Wedgwood has indeed tried to paint the picture as contemporaries saw it, without foreknowledge of the issue. To have succeeded fully in this aim could only lead to what Cromwell would have called 'a mass of confusions'—the guise in which most wars (above all wars of so haphazard a character) appear to contemporaries. But with anything Miss Wedgwood writes her native clarity, like the cheerfulness of Dr. Johnson's philosopher, is always breaking in, nor can either she or her readers really divest themselves of the hindsight denied to contemporaries. Yet the fact remains that to keep one's eye on so many fields of conflict at once, in a narrative covering more actions than Gardiner's in half the space, and with the aid only of poorish maps remote from the text, makes demands on the reader that not even Miss Wedgwood's literary artistry can always mitigate.

A work on this scale inevitably challenges comparison with that of the great pioneer to whose mastery Miss Wedgwood paid a just and timely

tribute in her first volume. As she rightly says, the modern writer must needs approach these events from a different, but not of necessity a more percipient angle; still more important, he has access to sources, especially on the social and economic background, not available to Gardiner. Certainly a new Gardiner is needed. Whether at the present time there is room for anything between the detailed monograph on particular aspects and the brief interpretative essay on the whole movement remains doubtful. To master the mass of local material which the opening of family muniments and the spread of county archive offices are placing at the historian's disposal would be the work of a lifetime. Miss Wedgwood would no doubt be the first to acknowledge that she has only touched the fringes of it; yet the story cannot be complete without it, and until it has been further digested, the fundamental debate over the condition of the gentry, which has perhaps generated more heat than light among historians during recent years must remain, as she wisely leaves it, *sub judice*. Miss Wedgwood's narrative has a ready appeal denied to Gardiner, but it lacks his stateliness and sweep, if it avoids also what an impatient modern has called his 'eternal moralizings'. Her genius is episodic rather than epic: she is at her best in essays like the brilliant study of *The Common Man in the Great Civil War* (published, and too little noticed, two years ago)—or for that matter in the vivid and persuasive passage towards the end of the present volume in which she describes and explains the Scots 'betrayal' of the King.

The volume is even more generously illustrated than its predecessor, and the standard of typography and production reaches the same high level. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of proof-correction. Roger Williams's famous pamphlet appears twice in the queer guise of 'The Bloody Tenant of Persecution'; the altar, storm-centre of religious controversy, twice turns into an *alter*, and indispensable into *indispensible*. Dropping of letters and wrong division of words also occur too frequently for comfort. Hugh Peter(s) appears in one form in the first 500 pages and in the other afterwards; Harrison is a yeoman's son in one place and a butcher's elsewhere. Archbishop Williams (whom she dislikes) would have been surprised to hear of his kinship to Hampden. These, however, are minor blemishes attributable, no doubt, to haste: the modern reader seems less content to wait for his 'sequel' than was Gardiner's public, which received its instalments over a period of nearly forty years, and then had to wait another fifty before his two successive continuators completed his original plan! We must be thankful that Miss Wedgwood is less leisurely, and her readers will look forward to the promised appearance of a further volume in which she will have room to develop the stimulating hints she has already given in broadcasts on Oliver Cromwell (hitherto a minor character in her story), and perhaps to present her final conclusions.

A. H. DODD

Otto Haintz's three-volume biography of KÖNIG KARL XII VON SCHWEDEN (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1958. 3 vols. 307, 314, and 371 pp. DM. 75) has had a chequered history. The first volume, covering 1697–1709, was published in Germany as far back as 1936 and was judged oddly old-fashioned by Swedish reviewers since it concentrated on the military aspect of the reign without much attention to the more fundamental problems which occupied

Swedish scholars in the 1930s; a second volume, dealing with Swedish military and diplomatic efforts during the years which Charles XII spent in Turkey, 1709–14, was published in Sweden after the Second World War, printed in German, and was quite well received. The author has now completed his work with a third and final volume, while the two earlier volumes (the first one slightly revised, mainly by footnotes drawing attention to books published since 1936 but also by a rewriting of the section on the battle of Poltava and the surrender at Perevolotjna, taking into account new Swedish research on these two events) are reissued, so that the whole work appears in a uniform edition, beautifully produced. Haintz's military knowledge and interest is evident in the biography throughout. On the political, diplomatic and economic side the touch is less sure; this is particularly noticeable in vol. I, where, for example, Haintz argues on p. 19 that Sweden made no attempt to get into closer touch with Russia in the years 1698–1700, ignoring the 'big embassy' of 1699. The whole work suffers some distortion from Haintz's theory that if only Charles XII had been willing to ally himself with Prussia all would have gone well with Sweden. There is little attempt to grapple with the underlying motives of Swedish policy; but as a straightforward narrative history Haintz's work is a competent survey of the reign.

London School of Economics

R. M. HATTON

Roberto Ridolfi's **LIFE OF GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959. x + 326 pp. 35s.) has been translated by Cecil Grayson. The Italian original was reviewed earlier (*ante*, xxxix. 276) when it was described as 'a calm, detailed portrait of the friar himself, probably as close to historical truth as we are ever likely to know'.

THE ADVENTURERS OF BERMUDA, by Henry C. Wilkinson, has been a standard work on the history of the island down to 1684 since its appearance in 1933. The second, revised edition has now appeared (O.U.P. 1958. xiii + 421 pp. 42s.). Large parts remain as they were (with the old errors of detail uncorrected in places), but with other parts, especially in the later part of the book, enlarged and revised to assimilate new material.

LATER MODERN

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Vol. X. 1714–1783. Ed. by D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1957. xxvii + 972 pp. 95s.

The editors of this volume faced a problem of selection made the more intimidating by the immense widening in their period of the scope of English history. They have divided their material under twelve main headings: the Monarchy; Parliament; the Law and its Administration; Public Finance; the Churches; the State of the Nation (Social); the State of the Nation (Economic); the Armed Forces; Scotland; Ireland; the Colonies; and Foreign Policy and Wars. Practically everything in this book comes from printed sources. The inevitable duplication, in some measure, of material with other collections, of constitutional, ecclesiastical, or economic documents, does not make these unnecessary. Costin and Watson, for instance,

will still be needed for a documentary introduction to the Cabinet. Perhaps it is ungrateful to wish that there were more material from unpublished sources; or even that some of the passages from printed memoirs might have been collated with the MS. originals, and their MS. sources given, where these are now available. Although Burke's *Present Discontents* is not drawn upon because easily available, three passages from Defoe's *Tours*, and two from the *Wealth of Nations*, are included, although equally easy of access. There is on the other hand a splendid body of material collected from pamphlets and contemporary books (Scottish, as well as English) not easily to be found outside the great libraries.

At first sight the section on central administration and the keeping of order seems meagre. Yet when naval and military administration, financial administration, and colonial administration are treated in other sections there is not much left. Could, perhaps, recruitment and patronage in government offices, or relationships of principals with deputies have been illustrated from some such source as the Newcastle papers? Local government is represented only by three acts of parliament—the County Rates act of 1739, the Workhouse act of 1722, and Gilbert's act of 1782. Could not some genuinely local material have been found, from either printed or MS. sources? Or even a local act of parliament?

The book is furnished with a comprehensive general introduction (suffused with a pleasant patriotic glow about Scotland), introductions to each main section, very useful bibliographies, and pithy (often most helpful) short comments on particular items. Although the editors quite properly include Sir Lewis Namier's books and papers in their bibliographies, they are, in what they have written about George III, and about political parties, curiously uninfluenced by him. Economic historians may demur to the Industrial Revolution being referred to, in the singular, so categorically. ('Pass men know that there was an industrial revolution: Honours men know that there wasn't!') Ecclesiastical historians, especially if they are Particular Baptists, will not like to read that the Methodists were the first to sing vernacular hymns in public worship: or Congregationalists to have it appear (as it does from the arrangement of the relevant bibliography) that Isaac Watts was an Anglican. Considering the small space the editors had, the selection of material for this section is balanced, and except for Warburton, not conventional. There are helpful maps, diagrams, and appendices.

This volume may be commended as a useful book in the hands of an imaginative sixth form master, or a promising undergraduate. It is as well designed as such a book can be, to be an appetizer, and at the same time to discourage the idea that whoever has worked through it has 'done' the eighteenth century.

Bedford College, London

R. W. GREAVES

Mr. Peter Mathias's six hundred pages on THE BREWING INDUSTRY IN ENGLAND 1700-1830 (Cambridge University Press. 1959. xxviii + 596 pp. 85s.) afford an appropriately long draught for the connoisseur and a moral for the teetotaller; in this period, in the view of the temperance reformers, the brewers were on the side of the angels, for they produced a healthy alternative to corrupting beverages such as tea and 'ardent spirits', and as champions of the national drink struck a chord of John Bullishness in English

Protestant hearts. Large-scale teetotal propaganda belongs to a later date, and to meet its needs, most of the serious literature on the brewing industry has concentrated upon social issues; Mr. Mathias brings the concepts (and jargon) of economics to the discussion of an industry of the first importance in a period when most of the great modern breweries were founded. Brewing resembled the bulk of the old industries of England in that it dealt directly with the produce of the harvest, but in London and in some provincial cities in the eighteenth century, the industry developed many of the modern characteristics of production and marketing. Mr. Mathias's chief concern is to describe the industrial revolution carried through by the leaders of the industry, the great London porter brewers. By skilful design of plant, the introduction of steam engines, and scientific instruments, the great London brewers reduced the labour both of men and horses, profited enormously from the economics of large-scale production, and won a prestige which made their establishments among the great sights of the land. Mr. Mathias shows skilfully how economic success was due to the unusual circumstances of a mass market in the metropolis, to a blend of technical and commercial skill, to ties of family and faith through which investments might be secured, even to the holiday jaunts on which large buyers saw how the crops were coming on. Behind the breweries Mr. Mathias sets forth a large slice of English life; the demand for barley which greatly influenced the agriculture of Norfolk; the hop harvest which already drew crowds of casual workers to Kent; the malt industry of the Lea and Stort valleys, already linked with the London market. Not the least modern aspect of the story is the strenuous effort of the Excise Office to force an industry compelled by the nature of its raw materials to an infinite variety of practice into a strait jacket convenient for fiscal administration. Attempts to prescribe by law the dimensions of the bungholes of maltsters' cisterns were bound to provoke resistance, and brewers enjoyed the support, not only of the world and the flesh, but of the parish priest and the dissenting minister. Both the subject and the treatment make this a notable addition to the literature of eighteenth-century economic history.

University of Manchester

W. R. WARD

Dr. Horst Schlechte has done a valuable service to German historiography by publishing, mainly from the Dresden archives, the documents relating to the *Rétablissement* of the Electorate of Saxony after the Seven Years War: DIE STAATSREFORM IN KURSACHSEN, 1762-1763 (Berlin: Rütten and Loening. 1958. xi + 608 pp. DM. 33.20). In contrast with the contemporary *Rétablissement* of Prussia that of Saxony was distinguished by very enlightened principles. Among the statesmen responsible for it the outstanding one was Thomas Freiherr von Fritsch, the ennobled son of a Leipzig bookseller and publisher who, even after his ennoblement and acquisition of a feudal estate, continued to manage his father's business, retained his burgher's pride and his critical views of the noble and seigneurial atmosphere of his time. He was also highly critical of Prussia, writing in 1757 of Frederick William I: 'Son humeur contribuait . . . à gouverner ses Etats militairement comme un commissariat et à établir cette dangereuse maxime que l'Etat n'est que pour l'armée, au lieu que l'armée doit être, selon son institution, pour l'Etat . . .', thus anticipating by thirty years the famous

dictum of Mirabeau; and of the policy of Frederick the Great (in the same document): 'Pour arriver à cette fin [de bonifier ses provinces], il croit la force suffisante, comme elle l'est à la discipline des armées et c'est tout le contraire: il faut de la confiance, que la dureté et l'instabilité du gouvernement militaire ne comporte pas. . . .' He equally realized that Saxony, in view of its utter exhaustion, would have to forgo the possession of a strong army, its political rivalry with Prussia and the Polish connection, and for many years would be occupied with its economic recovery, especially the furthering of trade and industry. In its economic development Saxony had always been far ahead of its Prussian neighbour: thanks to the enlightened policy of the *Rétablissement*, the unenlightened policy of Frederick the Great and the dead-weight of the Prussian army, it retained this lead into the nineteenth century, exporting industrial goods overseas as early as the 1780s. Because of the terrible crisis caused by the Seven Years War the Saxon government depended on the support of the merchants, bankers and entrepreneurs of Leipzig and other towns: their views strongly influenced government policy, to the benefit of the country which recovered quickly. While Prussia pursued the career of power politics, Saxony chose the path of commercialization and industrialization and of a renunciation of power politics. There enlightened despotism truly aimed at promoting the welfare of the population: these and other interesting points clearly emerge from a study of this important volume of documents.

Westfield College, London

F. L. CARSTEN

THE FIRST PROFESSIONAL REVOLUTIONIST: FILIPPO MICHELE BUONARROTI (1761-1837). By Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. x + 205 pp. 36s.

Although Buonarroti's career is interesting, it is not easy to see at first glance why it deserves much more attention than that of many another a revolutionary. Yet, as Miss Eisenstein points out, in the last twenty years Italian historians have created 'a veritable industry based on Buonarrotian research'. Many documents have been published, much has been written, but it is impossible to believe that all the attention has been justifiable. In her excellent bibliographical appendix Miss Eisenstein touches on some of the political and ideological roots of this interest; it is already a topic worthy of historical and sociological attention in its own right. In the body of her work she summarizes some of its results. This alone would be a useful service to English readers but she has also produced an original and interesting assessment of her subject which shows what can be done by someone thinking hard about secondary materials. She interprets Buonarroti as the prototype of the modern professional revolutionary and this is an interesting idea well worth exploration. Buonarroti's aspirations support it better than his practical achievements, which were small. Because he stood at the confluence of many forces in the Europe of the restoration he appears in many different historical contexts and this gives a false impression of his effectiveness. In fact his influence was always at its strongest at the personal level and his great accomplishment was the conversion of disciples. Miss Eisenstein alludes disarmingly to the weakness of biographers who endow their subject with too great a significance; she escapes this weakness and is much more moderate in her claims than many of the authors whose views she discusses. Her own

view, convincingly argued, is that Buonarroti cannot be understood except as a man devoted to the ideas of Rousseau and the myth of the Robespierrist republic which was to have realized them. Some of her book is not easy to read because it is very specialized, and some of it because it is diffuse and over-written. But unless some English scholar is going to turn his attention to Bronterre O'Brien, Miss Eisenstein's own assessment and her admirable bibliography both suggest that we may, at last, have arrived at the point where there is little left to say about Buonarroti.

Merton College, Oxford

JOHN M. ROBERTS

A WORLD RESTORED: METTERNICH, CASTLEREAGH AND THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE, 1812-22. By Henry A. Kissinger. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1957. 354 pp. 36s.

The theme of this book is that stability in the international order results 'not from a quest for peace but from a generally accepted legitimacy'; and many, far too many, pages of this work are devoted to the elaboration of this concept. What we really need for this period, particularly for those who do not already know it, is a clear narrative account based on, and giving adequate reference to, all available authorities—an account in which facts and quotations from documents (the more the better) can speak for themselves. To a limited extent this book meets that need. The Polish-Saxon question and the congresses of Troppau and Laibach (the author ends his story on the eve of Verona) are clearly described; there is a fairly adequate account of Metternich's diplomacy in 1813 (though Metternich is made out to be more certain of himself than he probably was); and some attention (though not enough) is devoted to the events leading to the first Bourbon restoration. But the narrative is broken by pages and pages of generalization which adds nothing but which merely occupies space that could have been better used. Some idea of this generalization can be gathered from a few samples: 'Any international settlement represents a stage in a process by which a nation reconciles its vision of itself with the vision of it by other powers.' . . . 'Because a settlement transforms force into acceptance, it must attempt to translate the requirements of security into claims and individual demands into general advantage.' . . . 'Only periods convinced that irretrievable disasters are impossible are incapable of conducting cabinet diplomacy with its shifting alliances, which testify to the absence of unbridgeable schisms; with its seeming cynicism, which indicates that risks are limited; with its limited wars which reveal that differences are peripheral.' On the other hand, the 14 pages of critical bibliography are most valuable.

Birkbeck College, London

DOUGLAS DAKIN

LES RÉVOLUTIONS ALLEMANDES DE 1848. By Jacques Droz. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 656 pp. 1000 fr.

This excellent monograph, one may confidently assert, will long remain the standard work on the intricate subject of the German revolutions of 1848. Indeed it is to be hoped that Professor Droz may one day be tempted to write or edit a synoptic survey of all the European revolutions of that eventful year. For it is obvious from the book under review that he has aimed at, and signally succeeded in, viewing the phenomenon of the German Revolution in its wider European context. There can be little doubt that the horizontal

approach is in this case more fruitful than the vertical method which, for understandable reasons, had its adherents during and immediately after the Second World War when publicists and historians alike were busy tracing the roots of National Socialism. Not that that method did not also have its merits so long as it was used judiciously, as for example in the case of Friedrich Meinecke's *Deutsche Katastrophe* (1946) or Willy Hellpach's *Der deutsche Charakter* (1954). Too often, however, the pathological aberrations and perversions of the German mind that had appalled the world during the Nazi régime were indiscriminately projected back into the German past. In this way a 'German character' was invented which was supposed to be immutable. One of its traits was declared to be servility or the lack of political initiative. This generalization had already been contested by Hans J. Rehfisch and others in the interesting if somewhat journalistic symposium *In Tyrannos: Four Centuries of Struggle against Tyranny in Germany* (1944). Professor Droz now uses the full weight of his scholarship to destroy that myth, and he arrives at the conclusion: 'Rien de plus faux que de parler de la passivité politique du peuple allemand comme d'un trait fondamental de la race'. On the contrary, it is the excess of individualism on the part of the revolutionaries of 1848 which according to the author accounts in part for the failure of the Revolution. Undeniably, gross acts of servility and *trahison des clercs* occurred in Germany in 1848–9, but in this respect the attitude of the German bourgeoisie mirrored that of the European bourgeoisie in general. Differences between developments in Germany on the one hand, and England and France on the other, as far as they existed, are explained mainly as resulting from the retarding social and economic effect of Germany's long drawn out political dismemberment. Consequently, German liberalism had its first real chance only in 1848, at a time when a menacing industrial proletariat had already begun to undermine the liberal forces and all they stood for. In this context it is worth noting that Professor Droz's researches have shown that the immediate impact of the Communist Manifesto was far greater than has hitherto been believed.

University College, Oxford

H. G. SCHENK

THE TEN HOURS PARSON: CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION IN THE EIGHTEEN-THIRTIES. By J. C. Gill. London: S.P.C.K. 1959. xiv + 210 pp. 30s. The speeches and writings, here much quoted, of the Reverend George Bull, the subject of this book, are full of Tory punch. 'The ten hours parson' was not, however, merely 'the reverend bruiser' of his opponents. As a Sunday School teacher he had appreciated the sufferings of the factory children. His first-hand knowledge of social conditions—his comparison of the lot of the poor in town and country, for example—during the early eighteen-thirties is of considerable value to the social historian. Canon Gill also supplies much information on the organization and methods of the Ten Hours agitation, which supplements that found in Cecil Driver's *Tory-Radical*.

This, however, is not a biography of Bull, which is to appear later, but an account of certain movements in which he participated. Perhaps as a result no overall picture emerges. Canon Gill informs us that he himself has 'stood on the hustings to propagate the Christian faith'. He certainly shares to the full Bull's antipathy to liberals and dissenters. Though this adds a

certain gusto to his accounts of how the parson confounded his opponents, no attempt is made to appreciate their point of view or their very real virtues. Consequently neither the originality nor the limitations of Bull and his friends emerges very clearly from amidst the confusing smoke of a battle in which the Canon himself still appears to be eagerly participating.

University College, Swansea

N. MASTERMAN

THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE, 1838-1846 (London: Allen and Unwin. 1958. 226 pp. 25s.), by Dr. Norman McCord is an account of the methods, organization and impact on contemporary politics of one of the most famous of nineteenth-century pressure-groups. Dr. McCord has consulted a number of manuscript sources, some of them not hitherto used, although not the papers of John Bright, presumably because he was unable to obtain access to them, and he has written, if not a definitive work, at least a suggestive essay. He stresses the League's unscrupulous methods, particularly in the period down to 1842; he contrasts the rashness of Bright with the caution of Cobden and George Wilson; and he attacks the view that the League exercised a decisive influence on the course of events in 1846. The repeal of the Corn Laws was not 'the direct result of the League's agitation'; on the contrary, it was 'principally the work of the Peelites'. 'The League made a great deal of noise, but it had the part of a chorus which did not play a decisive part in the action.'

Interesting though these points are, however, Dr. McCord's book would have been more readable and more useful if he had taken greater pains in its preparation. He has not mastered the art of weaving quotations into an argument or narrative; his style is in places slipshod; he fails to give the dates of many of the letters that he cites; his index appears to have been compiled in haste under pressure from his publisher. Nevertheless, the reader who is not deterred by this book's literary and technical shortcomings may well find himself inclined to agree with many of its conclusions.

King's College, London

CHRISTOPHER HOWARD

PRE-FAMINE IRELAND: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. By T. W. Freeman. Manchester University Press. 1957. 352 pp. 35s.

Under the successive topics of population and emigration, agriculture, trade, industry and mineral resources, communications, and social problems, Mr. T. W. Freeman treats of the historical geography of Ireland before the great Famine of 1845-7. The author has every reason to congratulate himself upon having produced a most valuable work. It is undoubtedly the first full-scale effort to collect and analyse the available evidence and any one with the slightest acquaintance with the sources will clearly appreciate the magnitude of the task accomplished and will also feel much in Mr. Freeman's debt for the valuable tables and sketch-maps which serve to elucidate so many incidental problems. It is not too much to say that for many years to come university students will lean heavily upon this work for a full understanding of their subjects, historical and geographical, in the Ireland of pre-Famine days. It will, however, for the uninitiated remain a sealed book; for them it is too academic especially in the geographical sense.

Mr. Freeman insists that in the approach to his subject he is dependent

for his facts upon his sources. 'Interest in the country's problems was widespread and suggested solutions many; but it has not been the author's purpose to say what should have been done but rather to investigate conditions as they were in terms of social and economic geography.' The difficulty about this decision is that the author is in danger of ignoring the basic principles of historical criticism if not indeed of forgetting what is the essence of geography. He tells us in dealing with the subject of over-population that contemporary authors are impressively unanimous that such was the actual state of Ireland. His authors, however, as his footnotes reveal and also as Mr. Freeman himself knows, as is revealed by the last sentence of the text on p. 313, came mainly 'from the east side of the Irish sea'. He does not appear to realize that this question of over-population was based upon assumptions as regards standards of life which, however similar to our own, were not the standards of the rural workers themselves. Mr. Freeman excuses himself from venturing into the consideration of the political factors which shaped the land situation in Ireland. 'It is not', says the author, 'the purpose of this work to discuss the political troubles of the times with which it deals.' But what Mr. Freeman overlooks is that in excluding matters of political controversy in Ireland he is surely not entitled to accept the assumptions of contemporary British politics; that Ireland was overpopulated was undoubtedly one of these British assumptions in the era of the post-Waterloo depression. There is the further point that the author also fails to distinguish clearly between one historical epoch and another. The historical geography of pre-Famine Ireland begins with the Union if not with the Seven Years War.

In Irish history the governing facts in any social, economic, religious or other context have been basically political. Thus, town life as we know it reached Ireland after the Scandinavian settlements of the ninth century. After the Norman invasion, and within the areas ruled by the Anglo-Normans only, a new system of agriculture was developed in the twelfth century. The descriptions of Ireland in Tudor times were the consequence of the wars of expansion and of the plan for re-colonization. The Downe survey, the first great scientific survey in modern Europe, was a direct consequence of the Cromwellian reconquest. The increase in tillage and population in the second half of the eighteenth century was enormously stimulated by the Irish Parliament's bounty for the inland carriage of corn after 1760. The increased financial indebtedness of Ireland as a partner in the United Kingdom after 1800 weakened the country's resources at the very time it became exposed to the Industrial Revolution. Indeed, for every important factor of geographical change (in the social and economic sense of this term) it is possible in Ireland to establish an antecedent political condition.

The author's decision to keep to the literature of the years immediately preceding the Famine, and to avoid discussion of political questions, has inevitably postponed the opportunity of fulfilling the requirement of Febvre that geography shall be exclusively concerned with the utilization of possibilities. Basically this question of historical geography must be thought of in terms of demographic units. Mr. Freeman would argue that in pre-Famine Ireland social and economic factors were dominant; he might not feel equally anxious to exclude political, religious or cultural factors of another date—even if that were a thousand years earlier. Elsewhere he has written favourably of the work on early Ireland by Walter Fitzgerald. A work dealing

with the same period is that of Pierre Flatrès entitled *Géographie rurale de quatre contrées Celtiques; Irlande, Galles, Cornwall et Man* (Librairie Universitaire J. Plichon, Rennes. 1957), and both these works give special attention to political factors. The last-named also gives special treatment to climate, a factor which surprisingly gets little attention from Mr. Freeman.

The author's Ireland then is a static one in which with tragic calmness a poverty-stricken and despairing community awaited the fate which almost inevitably followed the failure of the potato. Had he glanced back to the beginning of agrarian agitation early in the reign of George III Mr. Freeman would have appreciated clearly that the areas of greatest discontent were not the most poverty-stricken. Agrarian agitation, cowed into submission in anglicized areas like Tipperary in 1765, and like Wexford and Meath in 1798, was powerless to prevent rent increases which drained the land of all chance to utilize possibilities. Had Mr. Freeman begun his work with an introductory historical outline the significance of his study would have emerged more clearly. Without this it is still a fine demonstration of how to apply a modern geographical technique, but there is no over-all picture. His work remains essentially a stimulus to geographical students rather than a guide to historical geographers.

University College, Dublin

R. DUDLEY EDWARDS

THE MAN OF TEN TALENTS. A PORTRAIT OF RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, 1807-1886: PHILOLOGIST, POET, THEOLOGIAN, ARCHBISHOP. By J. Bromley. London: S.P.C.K. 1959. 253 pp. 25s.

Some of Archbishop Trench's theological and philological writings ran to many editions during his lifetime, and, like a few of his poems, have their admirers today. In this well-written biography Mr. Bromley, who has an astringent critical mind, which is somewhat uncomfortable among the visionary ardours and moral enthusiasms of the nineteenth century, claims that Trench had characteristics similar to his own. Unlike many of the Cambridge Apostles, of whom he was one, Trench was not very impressed by the Germans. He was greater as a critical exegetist than as a speculative theologian or apologist, and as a professor of King's College, London (1846-1858) made the perfect counterpart to F. D. Maurice. Having involved himself as a young man in John Sterling's hare-brained plan for a Spanish revolution, Trench later became more the sober, orthodox, High Churchman than was then customary among Cambridge men, as his fruitful co-operation as examining chaplain with Samuel Wilberforce reveals. However, we are told, he was 'always a scholar and a gentleman, which some of the disciples of the Oxford Movement were not'. In a lively account of the conflict over Irish disestablishment, Mr. Bromley maintains that Trench, as Archbishop of Dublin (1864-84), was defending a principle, whilst Gladstone was motivated by political expediency.

University College, Swansea

N. MASTERMAN

The Prince Consort was a pathetic figure. Endowed with moral seriousness, great industry, and a sense of vocation, he was nevertheless virtually powerless to influence the events in which he took so nervous and almost morbid an interest. His advice to German rulers went unheeded and the dynastic marriage he secured for his daughter ended after his death in disaster. In

England the monarchy was faced with political developments that even under the splintered party-system of the 1846–59 period left little room for the direct intervention of the Crown. Only on rare occasions and at marginal points did the influence of Victoria and Albert have any tangible effect. It is unfortunate that Mr. Frank Eyck in *THE PRINCE CONSORT* (London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. 269 pp. 30s.) does not fully recognize this and concentrate on the task of elucidating when in fact the prince was playing a significant rôle and when he was merely spilling ink. To claim, as he does in his final pages, that in Britain Prince Albert 'had largely established his ideas on government' and that his premature death had an 'impact on German and therefore world history' is an exaggeration that vitiates his whole approach. As it is, one may wonder what useful purpose has been accomplished by this book other than the reproduction of extracts from documents in the Windsor and Coburg archives not previously available in print. It is certainly not a biography—even the qualified 'political biography' of the sub-title—for it leaves some important aspects of the prince's career untouched and others only lightly indicated. Though more detail is supplied, especially over the prince's views on German affairs, the main outlines of what was already known remain unaltered. Even when results seem to follow from royal representations, it is not always made clear whether there was a causal connection. There is no close examination of the parliamentary and cabinet politics on which the royal couple were endeavouring to act and Mr. Eyck's passing comments on the contemporary political background do not invite confidence. It would have been better had he contented himself with editing a further selection from the prince's correspondence on which he has been researching. Instead he labours the obvious and delivers tepid moralisations in a style that makes the prince's letters readable by contrast and Victoria's occasional literary irruption a positive relief. These defects would have been bearable if the intrinsic subject of the book had much importance. But for the most part the frustrated Albert was merely performing endless verbal arabesques. He had no policy, because he had no power. All he could have were opinions; and for most of the time all he could do was to comment. It would take greater historical skill than Mr. Eyck at present possesses to justify the additional refinement of a commentary upon a commentary.

St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews

NORMAN GASH

From the early fourteenth century attempts to establish universities in Ireland were singularly abortive, and though Trinity College, Dublin, was chartered in 1592 as a *mater universitatis*, it never gave birth to any daughter colleges. Eighteenth-century schemes, whether promoted by Ulster Presbyterians like William Campbell, William Crawford and James Crombie, or by politicians like Thomas Orde, or by ecclesiastics like Lord Rokeby, likewise came to nothing. Indeed, by the beginning of the nineteenth century it looked as if Irishmen, and especially those from the north, were to be suckled in English or Scottish universities unless they accepted the rather inhibited courses offered by Trinity College, Dublin. One of the great virtues of the large and comprehensive *QUEEN'S BELFAST 1845–1949* (London: Faber, for The Queen's University of Belfast. 1959. 2 vols. lxvii + 983 pp. 63s.), by T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett, is that this tangled history is anatomized and exposed with a wealth of corroborative detail that makes

fascinating reading. The authors go on to trace the history of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, the Queen's Colleges, the ill-fated Royal University of Ireland, and show how the Queen's University of Belfast emerged in 1908. These 392 pages form the core of the book. One of the many fascinating revelations is that Arthur Hugh Clough, James Anthony Froude and Mark Pattison were all postulants for appointment in the original Queen's Colleges. Another is the ability of Sir Robert Kane, the Irish Leonardo, whose book, *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* (1844) still repays reading. The monolithic personality of R. M. Henry dominates the latter part of the book. To supplement the patterned story which the authors have so laboriously and carefully woven, there are a further 304 pages of appendix offering a full biographical index of the professoriate, together with a statistical analysis of their origin, source of degree, age grouping and salary. The 46-page index is a model of comprehensiveness and quality, affording to the timid reader avenues of approach to this vast history which are both entertaining and rewarding.

University of Sheffield

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

Mr. Mack Smith's *ITALY* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; London: Mayflower Publishing Company. 1959. xxviii + 508 pp. 6os.) is both more and less than an account of Italy's domestic history, and foreign and colonial policy, between 1861 and 1958. The first is fully told, foreign policy is more sketchily considered and colonial policy is left cloudy and uncertain. But the book is an engrossing study of the political development of united Italy as a whole. It is notable for its coherence and the vivid sense of both the political world and the non-political masses which it conveys.

The *risorgimento* had created neither a united people nor a single society. It was both a movement of an *élite* which failed to touch the common people and a 'movement of the disinherited' which failed to draw in the old political classes. Liberalism, whether of the right or of the left, did not encourage the social revolution which should have completed the political changes. Mr. Mack Smith prompts the question whether to blame the liberals for not shouldering the burden of social problems is not merely to blame them for being liberals. The Giolittian era, when governments executed some social plans, and political parties arose with social ideas, perhaps saw social advances precisely because it saw a departure from classic liberalism. By 1918 Italy felt herself less divided. But fascism was not a real expression of a new national unity or social order. A brief discussion of the years since fascism suggests that the disappearance of malaria, the discovery of oil and the consequent raising of living-standards may at last bring social cohesion.

The settlement of 1861 left the national movement 'dangerously rootless and revolutionary'. It had not cured a habit of opposition to authority which Mr. Mack Smith traces from the centuries of foreign domination with which the book opens. Those who fought over Rome in 1862 and 1867, in Naples in 1863 or Sicily in 1863-6; ministers who defied their obligations; the Sicilian rebels in 1893 and the industrial rioters in 1898; the anti-government which the *mafia* constituted in Sicily and the *camorra* in Naples; the land-owners who organized self-defence against the peasants; the rioters of June

1914 and the strikers of 1920-1—all belonged to a lawless tradition. The success of fascism proved to be the last manifestation of this unruliness and insubordination, which the resistance during the war may have temporarily confirmed.

At the heart of the book is a third topic: the difficulty which Italy has found in making parliamentary government work. When Mr. Mack Smith reaches 1900 he pauses to consider the reasons why the constitution proved so far defective that liberalism was overcome by the dangers to it inherent in mass democracy. In the course of the book as a whole he traces the origin, development and effects of transformism; he discusses the dictatorial propensities of successive prime ministers; and he observes the occasions when different kings called in generals or 'strong men' at times of crisis, from Lamarmora, Menabrea or Pelloux to the summoning of Mussolini. The history of the years since fascism perforce leaves the fate of parliamentary government in Italy still undecided.

Somerville College, Oxford

AGATHA RAMM

PERSIA AND THE DEFENCE OF INDIA 1884-1892. By R. L. Greaves. London:

Athlone Press. 1959. xii + 301 pp. 42s.

It is no exaggeration to assert that British policy on the north-west frontier of India, in Persia and Afghanistan, and in those areas now included in what is termed the Middle East was indissolubly linked up with the safety of the British empire in India. French, Russian, and finally German intrigues in the countries athwart the route to India shaped and determined British foreign policy both in India and in London. The maintenance of the territorial integrity of Persia was only one aspect of this complex problem. British policy in Persia in the nineteenth century had been inconsistent. At times we courted her like a mistress and then for long periods maintained an attitude of almost complete indifference. Compared with Malcolm's extravagant 'rupee policy' that of all later diplomats appeared niggardly in the extreme. The result was that Russia obtained a preponderant influence over Northern Persia and over the Shah at Teheran. Russian commerce flourished by means of preferential tariffs and bounties. Geographical proximity and the development of strategic railways facilitated the despatch of Russian reinforcements to the Persian frontier. In Persia, Russia employed a staff of highly trained officials with a thorough knowledge of the languages, customs and people. Writing in 1903 Valentine Chirol was convinced that our failure was partly due to the fact that, with the exception of the Indian government's consular officials in the Gulf, we lacked a trained staff of oriental secretaries and consuls.

Dr. Greaves has provided us with the first authoritative account of Lord Salisbury's unsuccessful efforts at making Persia, not Afghanistan, the main bulwark of India's defence. Because of Russian influence and internal weakness it was found to be impossible to convert Persia into an efficient buffer state with intermediate powers of resistance. The chapters dealing with the Drummond Wolff Mission (1888-91) and the opening of the Karun river to navigation form a competent piece of research though the arrangement of the chapters leads to some repetition. It is strange that so detailed a study contains no reference to Jamal-ud-din Afghani, the founder of the Pan-Islamic movement. In addition to the well-known Foreign Office series on

Persia and Russia in Central Asia, Mrs. Greaves has made good use of a number of private collections not available to previous writers, those of Lord Salisbury, Lord Lytton, Lord George Hamilton and the first Earl of Kimberley.

Balliol College, Oxford

G. COLLIN DAVIES

LA SÉPARATION DES ÉGLISES ET DE L'ÉTAT. L'ŒUVRE DE LOUIS MÉJAN.

By L. V. Méjan. Préface de Gabriel Le Bras. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. xvi + 571 pp. 1950 frs.

THE NATIONALIST REVIVAL IN FRANCE, 1905-1914. By Eugen Weber. University of California Press: C.U.P. 1959. 237 pp. \$5.

ALBERT THOMAS. By B. W. Schaper. Préface de Marius Moutet. Publications on Social History by the International Institut voor Sociale Geschiedenis. Assen: Van Gorcum. 1959. xiii + 381 pp. 22 fl.

FRENCH SOCIALISM IN THE CRISIS YEARS, 1933-1936. FASCISM AND THE FRENCH LEFT. By John T. Marcus. New York: Frederick A. Praeger; London: Atlantic Books, Stevens and Sons. 1958. xv + 216 pp. 37s. 6d.

NEUTRALISM AND NATIONALISM IN FRANCE. A CASE STUDY. By John T. Marcus. New York: Bookman Associates. 1959. 207 pp. \$4.50.

CHARLES DE GAULLE: THE CRUCIAL YEARS, 1943-1944. By Arthur Layton Funk. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. xv + 336 pp. \$5.

These six books deal with the main themes of French history in the twentieth century—church and state, nationalism, socialism, resistance and collaboration—and between them they cover chronologically the period from 1900 to 1958. Mlle Méjan's *La Séparation des Églises et de l'État* is the most original and important of them. Her father, Louis Méjan, on whose private papers the book is based, was a Protestant lawyer, the son and brother of pastors, who became one of Briand's closest advisers during the period in which the Disestablishment laws were being put into effect, and he was largely responsible for their administration and for the genuinely liberal spirit in which they were applied under Briand. The book, although it is sometimes untidily constructed and is overweighted with the detail indispensable to a French doctoral thesis, is extremely illuminating on a number of points. Louis Méjan was a perceptive and articulate man, and his papers give a fascinating picture of French political life in the years before 1914, and show how the political machinery actually worked and how decisions were actually taken. Méjan knew Briand intimately and thus his biographer can throw new light on a figure who still remains mysterious in spite of the five volumes of Suarez's biography; he was also in touch with the Catholic hierarchy, and the book tells one much both about Vatican politics and about the differences of opinion inside the French church. The other elements in the complicated pattern of French religious life—Freemasonry and Protestantism, for example—also come into Mlle Méjan's picture, so that the book, for all its defects of construction and its sometimes tedious legal discussions, is an indispensable source for any student of French political and social history in the years just before the First World War.

Eugen Weber's *The Nationalist Revival in France, 1905-1914* is an example of the limitations to which a foreign historian, with no private papers at his disposal, is subject. It is a competent study, based mainly on the

press, of nationalist opinion in France during these years, but it is only in the conclusion that Mr. Weber begins to discuss the more interesting problems about the rôle of French nationalism in this period and to ask questions such as: What were the regions in which opinion changed during this period? What were the currents of opinion inside the various social classes? The author recognizes the limitations of his sources, and this is, as far as it goes, a useful book. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Weber did not carry it to its logical conclusion and provide a detailed analysis of the *Union Sacrée* and the temporary merging of all currents of opinion, including those hitherto anti-patriotic, in the nationalist revival of 1914.

Dr. B. W. Schaper's *Albert Thomas: Trente ans de réformisme social* is also by a non-French historian about a French subject. (Dr. Schaper is Dutch.) It has the advantage, however, that it is based on Thomas's own papers, and it is a thorough and serious biography of a thorough and serious man. If it seems dull to those who, like the present reviewer, find nothing duller than the history of reformist socialism, unless it be the history of international organizations, it is nevertheless a work of value, and it raises some interesting problems about the working of French politics. Albert Thomas, in England, Scandinavia or even Germany, would have been destined for a leading place in the socialist movement. He had the qualities to become a French Arthur Henderson. He was a successful Minister of Munitions during the First World War, and he seemed, by his steadfast adherence to ideals of practical social reform, to be the man who might succeed in making the French Socialist party take part in government without succumbing to the pull to the Right as Millerand or Briand had done. However, his identification with the patriotic mood of the *Union Sacrée*, and his refusal to make the question of French attendance at the Stockholm conference one of principle, separated him from the revolutionary mood of French socialism at the end of the war, and, by 1919, although he was still nominally a Socialist deputy, it was clear that he would not in fact play a leading part in the reconstruction of the party. It was therefore a relief, as well as something of a surprise, when he was appointed the first director of the International Labour Organization, and the last thirteen years of his life were spent as an influential and able international civil servant. At the end of his life, as Dr. Schaper discreetly suggests, Thomas suffered a little from megalomania, the occupational disease of the heads of international organizations, who find themselves in positions of great prestige and apparent power with very little practical influence on the course of events. His exclusion from the realm of practical politics, because he was French and not English or Scandinavian or Dutch, made his life, for all its outward success, in some ways an unsatisfying one, and this gives a certain personal poignancy to an otherwise strictly impersonal career.

Mr. John T. Marcus, both in *French Socialism in the Crisis Years* and in *Neutralism and Nationalism in France* uses newspaper articles to try and establish the main currents of French opinion. The former book deals with the years when the French Socialists were having to face both the threat of Nazi Germany and the blandishments of the Communists to form a united front. Mr. Marcus concentrates on the Socialists' attitude to Fascism and to the problem of rearmament, and although he illustrates some shades of opinion in the party quite well, he fails to give a general picture of the Socialists

and their problems in these years, so that the book belies its title and does not give a clear or adequate account of the formation of the Popular Front or of the practical political, social and economic problems confronting it.

In *Neutralism and Nationalism in France*, where he is concerned mainly with opinion and does not have to give much account of actual political events, Mr. Marcus' method is more successful, and he gives a clear, though not very original or profound analysis, of some of the ideas which underlie anti-American feeling in France, and compares these with similar views in Britain and Germany. He had the bad luck to complete his book just before the end of the Fourth Republic, when de Gaulle's return to power gave Gaullism a new meaning, and before de Gaulle's new policy of friendship with West Germany showed that perhaps anti-German feeling was not as strong an element in French neutralism as Mr. Marcus suggests.

Mr. Arthur Layton Funk—or his publishers—was able to use de Gaulle's accession to power to give a topical title, cover and illustrations to his book, which perhaps do less than justice to his serious historical intentions and achievement. *Charles de Gaulle: the Crucial Years* is, in fact, a detailed study of American policy towards the French from the Casablanca Conference to the liberation of Paris, and, although de Gaulle is necessarily an important figure in the story, the book is as much about President Roosevelt or, for that matter, General Giraud, as about de Gaulle. The author has had access to some State Department papers and has combined these with the available published material in such a way as to justify his claim that 'the general lines of policy are clear enough: it remains to future historians to fill in a host of unspectacular details'. It is much the most immediately readable of the books under review, and, although one may occasionally disagree with some of the judgements, it is an accurate, unbiased and valuable account of a complicated and fascinating period in the history of French relations with the United States and Britain, and shows General Eisenhower, Mr. Macmillan (at this period the British representative with Eisenhower's headquarters) and de Gaulle himself already adopting characteristic attitudes long before they became heads of their respective governments.

St. Antony's College, Oxford

JAMES JOLL

Soviet history must inevitably remain *terra incognita* so long as impartial students lack access to official archives. But for one single region of the U.S.S.R., the *guberniya* of Smolensk (later the Western *oblast*), a limited amount of documentary material is available: some of the local Party records, captured by the Germans in 1941, are now in American hands. In *SMOLENSK UNDER SOVIET RULE* (London: Macmillan. 1958. 484 pp. 50s.) Professor Merle Fainsod has succeeded brilliantly in building up, on the basis of these documents (the so-called 'Smolensk Archive'), a most illuminating picture of the history of the region between 1917 and 1937—and thus also of the Soviet Union as a whole, since the problems confronting local Party authorities were fairly similar throughout the country. For the first time it is now possible to document, with reference to actual case-histories, such vital aspects of the Soviet scene as the collectivization drive, the Party purges, crime and corruption, education and censorship, the interrelationships of Party organs and other links in the chain of control, and much else that has hitherto remained obscure. Of particular value is the information

contained in letters to the press or petitions to Party leaders, which illustrates, often on a note of drama or tragedy, what the great convulsion which Stalin engineered meant in human terms. Professor Fainsod handles his often intractable material with keen insight, and his conclusions, soberly and objectively presented, will command general assent. This is an authoritative record of the inner workings of Communist dictatorship and the hidden aspirations of the Soviet people. It is not only a landmark in Soviet studies: it is an indispensable work for anyone seeking to understand twentieth-century totalitarianism, the great historical conundrum of our time.

School of Slavonic Studies, London

J. L. H. KEEP

Two volumes have appeared of the five which will give an official inter-service history of Britain's war with Japan. The first, **THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN: THE LOSS OF SINGAPORE** (London: H.M.S.O. 1957. xxii + 568 pp. 55s.) by Major-General S. Woodburn Kirby and others takes the story down to the fall of Java in March 1942. It is a gloomy account of British ill-preparedness and confusion which resulted in an unbroken series of disasters culminating in the greatest military defeat in British history and costing British Commonwealth forces a total loss of 166,500 men, most of them prisoners-of-war, and the Japanese approximately 15,000. Not only is it a volume of great interest to the military historian and to those who participated in these events, but the opening chapters and the final one deal with the British defence problem in the Far East during the twenty years between the Washington Conference and Pearl Harbour, and bring out the underlying causes of defeat. The exhaustion of Great Britain after the First World War; her disarmament and slowness to rearm even after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931; the inability to spare adequate reinforcements, especially of aircraft, for the Far East after the fall of France and the entry of Italy into the war; the completely false assessment, in London and Washington as well as in Hong Kong and Singapore; of the calibre and efficiency of the Japanese armed forces; the lack of co-operation among the services and between them and the civil authorities; and finally, deficiencies in the standard and training of the troops—all these added up to an unrealistic situation in the face of a fully-prepared Japan, well-poised for the attack. As a result, Hong Kong fell after only eighteen days' fighting and the campaign in Malaya, which was to a great extent lost before it had begun, ended after seventy days, which was thirty days less than the Japanese had estimated. The authors stress that they are writing a military not a political history but they are always careful to examine the effect of political decisions on military developments. For example, it might be argued from a military standpoint that after the Japanese had over-run the Malaya peninsula and the defence of Singapore was a lost cause it would have been better to cut losses and to have concentrated on holding Burma and keeping open the supply route to China; but the abandonment of the 'fortress' of Singapore was impracticable in the interests of Commonwealth relations. Or again, the decision to include Burma in General Wavell's hastily-formed and quite unenviable ABDA command in the south-west Pacific, which was a mistake from the military point of view, was a political move, made at U.S. insistence, in order to please Chiang Kai-Shek.

Politically, Japan's lightning success had such a demoralizing effect upon

South-East Asian countries and upon China that its consequences outlived the surrender of Japan in 1945 and have resulted in the changed map of Asia. From an immediate military standpoint, it greatly facilitated Japanese operations against Burma. The first twelve chapters of the second volume, *THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN: INDIA'S MOST DANGEROUS HOUR* (London: H.M.S.O. 1958. xvii + 541 pp. 55s.), by the same team of writers, again tell of British unpreparedness and the striking feats of improvisation and endurance by the Japanese. It also shows how the vacillations and distrust of Chiang Kai-Shek further complicated matters throughout the campaign. The narrative of the retreat is as orderly and clear as could possibly be expected in any account of warfare in this type of country.

'I claim we got a hell of a beating' was General Stilwell's characteristic comment on reaching India. 'I think we ought to find out what caused it, go back and retake it.' The building up of India as a base of sufficient strength from which to launch a counter-offensive into Burma, on which the Americans laid great stress for the political reason of aiding China, was a marathon task of administrative expansion and literally of re-orientation. India's military organization had hitherto been geared to the north-west whence the traditional threat had come. It now had to be switched to the north-east where lines of communication were long and slow and of limited capacity. Their improvement was an enormous task which had to be undertaken at a time when other theatres of war had priority of attention. Meanwhile, a limited British offensive in the coastal province of Arakan between September 1942 and February 1943 completely failed. The spectacular first experiment with long-range penetration forces under Wingate, while of limited military achievement at the time (and the authors make interesting comments on the lack of flexibility in his plans), was nevertheless a great boost to morale and taught subsequently invaluable lessons, particularly about the supply of troops by air. The narrative ends with the decision, on 25 August 1943, to form South-East Asia Command, and with Japanese preparations to invade India.

The remaining volumes of the official history will describe the way in which this offensive was held at Imphal and Kohima, after which, at the end of 1944, the forces of the new Command reconquered Burma. Meanwhile, one aspect of the reconquest has been examined by F. S. V. Donnison, *BRITISH MILITARY ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST 1943-46* (London: H.M.S.O. 1956. xviii + 483 pp. 40s.). A great deal of this book is devoted to Burma where some sort of administration existed continuously in the 'frontier fringe' from 1942-5, and Mr. Donnison gives a frank account of the confusion and improvisations in the organization of military administration and the lack of co-ordination between the military on the spot and the civil government of Burma in far-away Simla. Mr. Donnison writes from first-hand experience, and sometimes *de cœur*, as well as from the documents (he was a civil servant in Burma for many years, a deputy chief civil affairs officer there during the war and subsequently chief secretary to the government) and his book is distinguished by its sympathetic understanding of the problems and peoples involved. The last part of it is of more general interest. He deals here with the explosive political issues posed by the great surge of national feeling in South-East Asia at the end of the war, and throws a great deal of fresh light upon the momentous decisions taken by Admiral

Mountbatten whose liberal policy of concession to militant nationalism and of political emancipation was in conflict with that of his civilian advisers who, paradoxically enough, had opposed handing over responsibilities to the military on the grounds that nationalist opinion would regard it as a retrograde step. Mr. Donnison considers that subsequent events have vindicated the soundness of Mountbatten's 'largely intuitive estimate' of the vitality of the nationalism which he encountered. In addition to dealing with this problem in territories formerly under British rule, he also deals, although more briefly, with the responsibilities with which the British military commanders were temporarily saddled in Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies where difficult decisions had to be taken in a tense atmosphere.

The official British histories are primarily concerned with the military effort of the United Kingdom, and except where Commonwealth forces fought alongside those of the U.K., they do not go into much detail but refer the reader to the American, Australian, and New Zealand histories for details of the campaigns in the Pacific. Four further volumes of the official Australian history have now been published in this country. Volume IV in the Army series, *THE JAPANESE THRUST* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1957; London: Angus and Robertson. 1958. xvi + 715 pp. 30s.) by Lionel Wigmore covers the same period as the first volume of the British series and should be read alongside it as it makes quite clear how differently some problems seemed when viewed from Canberra instead of from London or Washington. It discusses fully, for example, Australian doubts before the war began about the wisdom of British strategy in the Far East which depended upon the despatch of the fleet, and the sharp interchanges about the re-deployment of I Australian Corps from the Middle East to Rangoon to help in the defence of Burma. The last part of the book is a grim and often harrowing account, by Mr. A. J. Sweeting, of the experiences of Australian prisoners-of-war of the Japanese. The book as a whole is more vividly written and more abundantly illustrated than its British counterpart. It has more local colour and gets nearer to the fighting men, largely because it is built up more upon the actions and accounts of individuals. *THE ROYAL AUSTRALIAN NAVY 1939-42* by G. Hermon Gill (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1957; London: Angus and Robertson. 1958. xviii + 686 pp. 30s.) also contains a discussion of Australia's attitude towards British naval policy between the wars, especially of the question of the Singapore naval base. *AIR WAR AGAINST JAPAN 1943-1945* by George Odgers (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1957; London: Angus and Robertson. 1958. xiii + 533 pp. 25s.) is a similarly detailed survey of the widespread and varied operations of the Royal Australian Air Force with vivid and dramatic accounts of the fighting experiences of individuals and of camp life. *THE ISLAND CAMPAIGNS* by Allan S. Walker (Canberra: Australian War Memorial. 1957; London: Angus and Robertson. 1958. xvi + 426 pp. 35s.) is the second of two in the medical series describing the operational experiences of the Australian Army Medical Corps.

London School of Economics

ALUN DAVIES

SUFFOLK FARMING IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Ed. Joan Thirsk and Jean Imray. Suffolk Records Society, Vol. I. 1958. 178 pp.
This interesting venture in publishing by a county record society contains

some 130 pages of printed documents and a twenty-page introduction by Joan Thirsk. The selection of documents has been made to cover a wide range of subjects touching landlord, farmer, and labourer, and in general succeeds in illustrating with local detail the conventional view of agricultural history. The sense of proportion is sometimes curious, four and a half pages on sheep pox comparing with under a page on field drainage. The documents do not always support the introductory essay, particularly in its assertion that 'for nearly two thirds of the century farming was a depressed industry'. Definition of local weights and measures might have avoided the error of claiming 1817 as a year of agricultural depression. But on the whole the volume is a welcome contribution to local studies.

University College, London

F. M. L. THOMPSON

In a short but thoughtful and original discussion, BENTHAM, COLERIDGE, AND THE SCIENCE OF HISTORY (Bochum-Langendreer: Heinrich Pöppinghaus. 1958. 105 pp. D.M. 15, bound D.M. 20), Robert Preger shows that the influence of the great utilitarian on British historiography in the nineteenth century was second only to that of Coleridge, and that their combined influence warded off some of the more dangerous effects of German historical thinking.

The former governor of the North-West Frontier Province, Sir Olaf Caroe, has written in THE PATHANS 550 B.C.—A.D. 1957 (London: Macmillan. 1958. xxii + 521 pp. 6s.) a picturesque and understanding history of the people he knows so well.

THE AMERICAS

Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger proceeds, in PRELUDE TO INDEPENDENCE: THE NEWSPAPER WAR ON BRITAIN, 1764-1776 (New York: Knopf. 1958. xvi + 318 pp. \$6), from the familiar if questionable thesis of John Adams that the Revolution was effected, before Independence, 'in the hearts and minds of the people'. Yet Adams himself later expressed doubts about the patriotism of many Americans during the war! There can, however, be no doubt as to the importance attached by both sides to the newspaper press as the controversy developed; many of the most famous writings of the period first appeared in newspaper series; new papers were promoted, printers were backed, for political purposes. But the precise relationship between press opinion and public opinion remains almost as difficult a problem as in more recent periods. Professor Schlesinger actually has several convincing cases in which printers were plainly dominated by public opinion!

This problem of influence—of which the author is too subtle an historian to be unaware—becomes acute in view of the limited rôle of newspapers in the South. For Virginia, with practically nothing outside the three *Gazettes* in Williamsburg, was certainly not wanting in revolutionary leadership or vigour. The press, then, was far more inseparable from the cause of resistance in New England and the middle colonies (especially Pennsylvania) than in the South. Professor Schlesinger, however, does not pursue the social questions suggested by his materials. What he offers instead is a thorough-going survey of the story of opposition as it appeared in the press, with

biographical information about newspapers and their printers, studies of patronage and material problems and a note on circulations. And the reader is reminded how forcibly resistance was promoted by the simple service of telling the news.

University College, London

J. R. POLE

ENTANGLING ALLIANCE: POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY UNDER GEORGE WASHINGTON. By Alexander DeConde. Duke University Press: Cambridge University Press. 1958. xiv + 536 pp. 56s. 6d.

The preservation of American neutrality during the early years of national existence, without the sacrifice of vital interests, in a world of embattled colonial powers, has usually been accounted a major achievement. It is therefore valuable to have a study of the might-have-beens bound up with the French alliance, which questions conventional judgements, throws out the suggestion that there could have been another and perhaps a more satisfactory development of foreign relations, and concludes that this 'was not a period when government on the basis of lofty principle sought to follow a policy of isolation and non-entanglement. It was, instead, a period wherein one party took control of the new national government, supported by men of wealth and position, and successfully attempted to change the foreign policy orientation of the nation.' The alternative, francophile, policy would have been supported by many Southern planters, by the Clintonians, and by merchants seeking to develop the French market or build up an entrepôt trade; but these do not apparently share in the implied condemnation which Professor DeConde gives to men 'of wealth and position'.

Though a new viewpoint is useful one wonders what can be gained by rushing from one partisanship into another: Professor DeConde is so anxious to destroy the picture of Washington as the wise and far-sighted architect of American foreign policy, that he repeats every Republican attack but cites few Federalist replies, or does so in a manner which renders them ridiculous. It is certainly salutary to doubt the hagiographic portrait of Washington, and it is right to emphasize the partisan elements in the Farewell Address, but it is another matter to present Washington as a bewildered old man 'used as a tool by Hamiltonians'. Everyone knows that Washington had a slow mind and that he was no political genius, but many will continue to believe that even in his old age (that is, in his sixties), he was still a strong man.

This book has some good points: nowhere else can one find so complete a picture of Republican attitudes to foreign affairs; if the story of Franco-American relations is not exactly unfamiliar it is here told with a new wealth of detail and an adroit use of quotation; and the accounts of Gouverneur Morris and of James Monroe in Paris are more informative than anything else which has appeared. The secondary sources for the period have been thoroughly surveyed (though one may doubt Professor DeConde's belief that a systematic bibliography would not have been useful) and these have been checked by documentary evidence. Despite these merits, and in addition to the evident partisanship which has already been noted, the book has serious limitations both in its treatment of domestic politics and in its contribution to an understanding of external relations. Its author believes that the course of American policy evolved 'from political expediency or *ad hoc* diplomatic

expediency rather from exalted principle', yet he also believes that Hamilton was the main author of that policy. Now Professor DeConde may not think that Hamilton's principles were exalted, but at least they were consistent and his writings give ample evidence of a thorough appreciation of the problems underlying the international situation of the United States. It is therefore not easy to maintain that policy was the product both of expediency and of design. One clue to this inconsistency is that Professor DeConde excludes precisely those factors which influenced the Federalist attitude to foreign affairs: the nature of the commercial contacts with Great Britain, the economic interests of the United States, the importance of the western frontier, the vexed West Indian question, and the fact that French and Spanish power in the New World might constitute a threat to American independence as great as that of England. Nor does he consider the real difficulties which lay in the way of diverting the economic orientation of the United States from Great Britain to France. A chapter entitled 'Franco-American Commerce' proves to be largely a congressional history of the abortive attempt to discriminate in favour of France in the tariff and tonnage laws, and Federalist prejudice is the only reason adduced for the defeat of this proposal. It is possible to distinguish between the clique which was devoted to Hamilton and the Federalist party in general: this was done by Manning J. Dauer in *The Adams Federalists*, but though Professor DeConde refers to this work in a footnote, he disregards the evidence of popular and agrarian Federalism which it revealed. Foreign policy certainly divided the nation, but it would seem to have done so into parts which were much more evenly balanced than he implies; it was by a vote of 50 to 49 that the House of Representatives decided to make the appropriations to implement the Jay Treaty, and if the victory of John Adams in 1796 was a narrow one it was nevertheless a victory.

A final criticism is on the ground of arrangement. Professor DeConde found it necessary to approach the Jay Treaty by three different routes—British, French and American—and the result is that the treaty is considered in Chapter IV; we are then taken back to Genet and the Whisky Rebellion and reach the treaty again in Chapter XI; in the following chapter we are once more back in time with Fauchet in Washington trying to fathom the meaning of Anglo-American negotiations. This complicated arrangement may be justified, but it does defeat one of Professor DeConde's avowed objects, to treat policy as it evolved from day-to-day circumstances.

The subject is not without topical interest. In Asia and Africa new nations struggle to preserve their independence between the incompatible attractions of a power which claims to represent the aspirations of the masses and of others upon whom their economic well-being depends. The Asian or African nationalist who turns to this book for guidance will find that it does add to existing knowledge of the intricacies of Franco-American relations and will receive a full account of Republican opinions upon foreign affairs; he will not obtain an accurate picture of the complex international problems of a country newly emancipated from colonial status, and he will not obtain a fair assessment of the motives of those who guided American policy.

Selwyn College, Cambridge

W. R. BROCK

THE NATION TAKES SHAPE, 1789-1837. By Marcus Cunliffe. University of Chicago Press: C.U.P. 1959. 223 pp. 26s.

The first five chapters of this book sketch out simply the growth of the nation from the creation of the Union to the arrival of Van Buren at the White House; government and politics, foreign policy, territorial expansion, commerce and industry are dealt with in superb prose and with considerable understanding. One criticism which can be made is that the narrative occasionally seems to be directed towards the 'tiny tots' of the historical world. Lest this deter the serious historian, however, the final three chapters provide ample historical cud. Here are the matured reflections of a scholar on the subjects of nationalism, sectionalism, conservatism, democracy and the American character during this period. Professor Cunliffe stands with those who feel that the division of this period into chronological compartments like the 'Era of Good Feeling' or 'Jacksonian America' is useful but constricting and that such divisions lay too much stress on the national scene at the expense of local, state or regional developments. He feels that there is considerable continuity from one period to the next and that a better picture of America can be gained by viewing the years 1789-1837 as an entity, albeit an imperfect one. By 1837, he maintains, the mould of the nation had been cast but its contents were still fluid and would defy any attempt to form them into conventional, coherent, permanent European groupings whether sectional, political, economic or religious. Finally the author must be congratulated on his compact, critical bibliography, an invaluable guide to the material on this period.

University College, Aberystwyth

ALAN CONWAY

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN CONNECTION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Frank Thistlethwaite. University of Pennsylvania Press: O.U.P. 1959. 222 pp. 36s.

This scholarly, lucid and elegantly written book makes a most valuable contribution to the growing history of the Atlantic community. Its effect is to call sharp attention to what seems today one of the gravest weaknesses of historians of Britain, their marked failure to put proper emphasis on (or indeed often to be more than remotely aware of) the importance of the Anglo-American connection in the nineteenth century. This study goes to the heart of the problem by concentrating on a period, between the Treaty of Ghent and the American Civil War, when the isolation of the two powers from one another diplomatically was very effective, but when in political ideas, in humanitarian movements and above all in economic life their relations were more intimate in many ways than at almost any time before or since. The contacts were most numerous and important where the mercantile paths were most used, between the growing commercial and industrial society of the North-eastern United States and the new, thriving, non-conformist middle classes of northern England; but the South and West of America were involved because the great commodities of trade were, successively, cotton and wheat, while in this very era the Reform Bill of 1832 and the repeal of the Corn Laws signified the rise of industry to political power in Britain. By one of the most laborious, yet rewarding, methods of research—scanning a vast and varied range of materials for relatively small pieces of information—Mr. Thistlethwaite has been able to document in a remarkable

way the seemingly numberless threads of individual as well as institutional transatlantic intercourse. As a result no one will be able to write the history of either the United Kingdom or the United States in these years in quite the same way again, for here is conclusive evidence that they cannot be truly seen except as parts of an Atlantic economy and an Atlantic society.

University College, London

H. C. ALLEN

Political science is one of the major fields of American academic activity. Though its great expansion has only been in this century, the attitudes of mind behind it go back to the foundation of the Republic. Dr. Bernard Crick in *THE AMERICAN SCIENCE OF POLITICS: ITS ORIGINS AND CONDITIONS* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1959. xv + 252 pp. 28s.) traces its history and explains how the American universities came to substitute political science for political thought. This is linked with a parallel substitution of sociology for philosophy. Political science, like social science, argues Dr. Crick, involves a misunderstanding as well as a misapplication of the processes of natural science. In fact, he says, 'it has been technology and not science that has been the real master-concept for most American political scientists'. His analysis is thoroughly documented, penetrating, polite, devastating, and to my mind entirely correct. I would add, however, two observations by way of comment. The first is that, as I think Dr. Crick himself implies, there are many American political scientists who are themselves aware of the frustration of their study. The second—and here is the one point in the main thesis with which I might be tempted to disagree—is that this does not seem to me a peculiarly American disease. British schools of political science seem to me to be afflicted with all the complaints that he finds in American, with the simple difference that they are less conscious of having them.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

GENERAL

THE HIGH COURT OF CHIVALRY: A STUDY OF THE CIVIL LAW IN ENGLAND. By G. D. Squibb. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xxvi + 301 pp. 42s.

There have been several essays and chapters on the subject of the Court of Chivalry since Dr. Arthur Duck dealt briefly with it in his *De Usu et Authoritate Juris Civilis* (1653), but this is the first full and scholarly treatment. Mr. Squibb was counsel for the plaintiff in the Manchester Corporation Case in 1954 when the Court sat for the first time in over 200 years, and he has brought cautious enthusiasm and clear argument to bear on materials old and new. Of course the book will chiefly delight those to whom hatchment, visitation, coat armour and escutcheon are magic words. The most enduring work of the Court at the time when the civilians were active in it was its jurisdiction over the law of arms, in which the procedure was modelled on that of the civil law but whose substance was distinctively English; in particular, cases concerning the right to bear arms, which extended not only to the wrongful use of another's arms but also to the wrongful assumption of arms or styles such as 'gentleman' or 'esquire', and the performance of funeral pomp without payment of due fees or without attendance of officers of arms.

There sprang up, however, in the seventeenth century a jurisdiction over scandalous words provocative of a duel, the foundation of which was that the plaintiff was a gentleman or esquire, and the popularity of this process and the evidences of gentility adduced by plaintiffs provide much interesting material for social and legal historians. Most of this material comes from the records of the Court in the College of Arms, now first used by Mr. Squibb, whose other chief contribution is a re-examination of the old material. This leads him to persuasive criticism of such great names as Round, Anson, Holdsworth and Blackstone on subjects as diverse as the date of origin, jurisdiction over cases of peerage and treason and military law, and powers of punishment of the Court. There are excellent Appendices which illustrate from original documents the procedure followed by the civilians.

Exeter College, Oxford

G. D. G. HALL

VALLEY ON THE MARCH by Lord Rennell of Rodd (Oxford University Press. 1958. xv + 297 pp. 42s.) is about a group of manors on the western border of Herefordshire, centred on the two parishes of Knill and Rodd, Nash and Little Brampton in the valley of the Hindwell Brook, a tributary of the Lugg. The population has, if anything, declined since the Middle Ages and there can be few areas where the continuity of rural life over many centuries is more evident to the seeing eye. Lord Rennell is a distinguished geographer and he knows every inch of the ground. The early chapters on geology and on the identification of Domesday manors, of open fields and of roads and trackways show how rewarding the geographical approach to local history can be. The reader is assisted in following the very detailed survey by maps and some admirable photographs and, which is too rare in parish histories, he is made to want to go and see the place for himself. The treatment of documentary sources is sometimes less happy. Thus the 'parson trouble' at Knill in 1349 when there were five incumbents in succession, was surely the Black Death. Lord Rennell is naturally puzzled to know why the Abbot of Wigmore should have appointed a steward of the estates some months *after* the Dissolution. But in fact, no problem exists, for the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 30 Henry VIII (the date of the grant) was in 1538, not 1539, i.e. just before the Abbey was dissolved. The final chapter, however, on the Rodd family in the seventeenth century, is an interesting and welcome addition to the case histories we need before the vexed question of 'the rise of the gentry' can be profitably pursued much further.

University of Birmingham

PHILIP STYLES

THE STORY OF CHEESE-MAKING IN BRITAIN, by Val Cheke (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1959. 347 pp. 40s.), contains a great deal of information on kinds of cheeses and their methods of manufacture. It unhappily lacks any scholarly apparatus, or sound grasp of historical method, though the period since 1850 is dealt with more thoroughly than the preceding two thousand years.

With highly creditable promptness Mlle Colette Albert has produced the valuable **BIBLIOGRAPHIE ANNUELLE DE L'HISTOIRE DE FRANCE** for the years 1957 and 1958 (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1958, 1959. liii + 373 pp. 2500 fr.; liii + 351 pp. 2700 fr.)

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THE REVIVAL OF THE FOREST LAWS UNDER CHARLES I

GEORGE HAMMERSLEY

The Queen's University of Belfast

THE LONG PARLIAMENT regarded the exploitation of the medieval forest laws by the crown, between 1632 and 1640, as a major grievance, in the same light as shipmoney, feudal incidents and monopolies. The episode has however not been examined in detail. Consequently it has been made to fit smoothly into a series, which appeared to be linked by the fiscal exploitation of somewhat anachronistic prerogatives of the crown. Its immediate origins have been reconstructed from its alleged effects, including the protection of disappearing reserves of timber, intrigue against Lord Treasurer Portland and his faction at Court, large fines, and the display of some fashionable legal antiquarianism. The grievances were partly accounted for by unanimous dislike of arbitrary taxation, partly deduced from medieval and Continental analogies, which pointed to the universal detestation of the game laws and of the interference of an archaic code with private property.¹ A different interpretation will be suggested here: namely, that a series of accidents converted a relatively minor administrative expedient into a major political issue; that intrigue, such as it was, proliferated mainly at a lower level, apart from the competition for the office of attorney general; that the protection of woods emerged as pretext rather than as purpose; that heavy fines and oppressive measures were adopted as an afterthought; that the laws themselves may have been old-fashioned but were still widely known and respected; and finally that resentment centred above all on their arbitrary extension to land long disafforested.

In English legal terminology, a forest was neither more nor less than a piece of land precisely limited by a perambulation and designated as forest by the crown. It was the most highly privileged form of game reserve, a legal franchise where the forest law took precedence over the common law and partly excluded it.² It was neither necessary for the

¹ With only minor emendations and expansion, modern accounts have been based on S. R. Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-42*, vii (1894), pp. 362-5; viii (1896), pp. 77, 86, 282. Cf. J. C. Cox, *The royal forests of England* (London, 1905); W. Holdsworth, *A history of English law*, 7th edn. (1956), i. 104-6; W. R. Fisher, *The forest of Essex* (London, 1887); J. Nisbet, 'The history of the forest of Dean', *E.H.R.*, xxi (1906), 445-59. Articles on 'Forestry' in the early volumes of the *V.C.H.* are almost all written either by Cox or Nisbet, whose views are represented in the two works quoted above.

² *Select pleas of the forest*, ed. G. J. Turner (Selden Soc., 1901), pp. ix-cxxxiv; E. Coke, *Institutes*, pt. iv, ch. 73; J. Manwood, *Treatise of the laws of the forest* (1615).

crown to own any land in a forest, nor did it have to contain a single tree. Apart from a royal monopoly in the hunt, the forest law created the equivalent of a nature reserve, in which the use of land must not be changed without permission, so as to offer free movement, shelter and food for game and hawks. Permission was required to enclose or plough up open land and to fell tree or bush even on privately owned land. Anciently enclosed arable could be used freely but was not effectively protected against marauding game. In compensation common rights in the forest were generously interpreted. At times when this was thought not to deprive the game, the forest grazed large herds of cattle and horses and fattened a great number of pigs; within very wide limits it supplied free timber for buildings, tools and repairs, and free fuel for all old-established houses and households.

Under the two chief justices of the forests, one north and one south of Trent, forest law in each forest was administered by special local officials. Most of these were closely identified with the local interests and not even selected by the crown. They operated through two lower courts of the forest which had by the sixteenth century often merged into the swanimote court. Above these the court of the chief justice, the forest eyre or justice seat, was the final authority for his group of forests. It had authority only while it dealt with a forest; it should have attended to each of them at intervals of a few years. The forest eyre alone could confirm perambulations, offices and privileges in the forest; it supervised lower courts and officials; as an inquisition it inspected the state and administration of the forest; it sentenced, on presentment by the lower courts, offenders there convicted; it acted as a court of first instance more rarely. The power of the lower courts to fine or punish was limited, but they dispensed all ordinary privilege in the forest: they supervised the allocation of timber and fuel and they stinted the common; presumably they also exercised their discretion in the prosecution of offenders. There were always two sides to the forest laws: they punished and restricted, it is true, but they also maintained securely a system of husbandry well suited to the extensive exploitation of rough woodland and waste.

At first the savagery of the game laws obscured the beneficial side of the forest code. Successive forest charters tempered the poachers' punishment: by the sixteenth century English game laws were relatively mild and rarely enforced, compared with nineteenth-century England or contemporary Europe.³ Such relaxation may have been assisted by the royal monopoly which, in England, prevented any subject from acquiring the full range of forest privileges. The kings themselves in

³ Between 1631 and 1664 only 78 people were charged with poaching before the Warwickshire Quarter Sessions (the period covered is 31 years and 6 months). Sentences, which can only rarely be traced, seem to have been light. It is unlikely that, at this time, proceedings under the forest laws were much more frequent or severe. *Quarter sessions indictment book, Easter 1631 to Epiphany 1674*, ed. S. C. Ratcliff and H. C. Johnson (Warwick County Records vi, 1941).

time strayed less often from the settled seat of government: a few forests, near London and the greater residences, gave them sport enough. The forest eyre restricted its circuit too; by the beginning of the seventeenth century it had for long confined its intermittent visits to a few forests, chiefly Windsor and Waltham. Meanwhile the office of chief justice of the forests had, by the slow relaxation of custom, turned into little more than a ceremonial sinecure. This further softened the rigour of the forest laws: the lower court, the swanimote, could not imprison offenders and could only exact moderate fines. Those contemporaries who spoke of the decline of the forest laws in fact lamented the decline of the eyre and the consequent absence of central control and reduction in crown income.⁴ However, the laws were known and observed in principle at least. Their object had changed, it is true: now they served, through the lower forest courts, to regularize the exploitation of traditional forest privileges, to prevent excesses and to exclude outsiders. A law designed to establish a royal privilege now safeguarded the commoners' interests. It maintained the forest as a wilderness, to which the inhabitants had assimilated their existence. They, and the crown, were by it precluded from more rational and more profitable husbandry which would have needed enclosure, either for the more intensive cultivation of crops or for the further encoppicing of woods.⁵ Thus the crown could not easily compensate itself for the decline in the traditional revenues from the forests. Formerly they had yielded substantial judicial fines as well as a casual income from occasional sales of wood and timber and from licences to burn charcoal, to enclose land and to exploit mineral resources.⁶ By the sixteenth century, neither the smaller fines levied by the lower courts, nor the occasional proceeds of the eyre, reached the Exchequer with any regularity. The tariff for the various licences had often degenerated into customary fixed payments; some of these had been annexed, as part of a fee, to one of the forest offices. With some exceptions sales, even of wood and timber, remained casual. The collection of these irregular payments had been worth while as an incident in the regular progress of the eyre, although it is not at all certain that they paid for the upkeep of this expensive luxury; they were inadequate to repay the cost of their special administration. If the ordinary fees and privileges of the forest officials and the free supplies of pasture and timber to commoners were to be deducted from the profits of forests, it seems probable that most of them were liabilities. To some extent their prestige value, as ancient buttresses of royal privilege, continued to save them from change. But those who were compelled to live under the forest law had come to regard it as beneficial: it was the crown which might reasonably resent it as restrictive.

Most natural resources in England began to be exploited with greater

⁴ J. Manwood, *Treatise of the laws of the forest*, quoted by Holdsworth, i. 104, n. 9.

⁵ Cf. the present writer's article in *Bull. of the Inst. of Hist. Research*, xxx (1957), 136.

⁶ N. Neilson, 'The forest', in *The English government at work, 1327-36*, ed. Willard and Morris (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), i. 424-34.

intensity in the second half of the sixteenth century. Rising prices and increasing expenditure compelled the crown, like other landlords, to seek a more profitable use for its woods, hitherto mainly exploited, at nominal rents, by its tenants. In an ascending order of profitability, woodland could offer timber for construction, fuel for domestic and industrial use and virgin soil for the plough. In spite of its comparatively unrewarding price however, supplies of constructional timber remained essential for farmers and industrialists as well as for the navy. Moreover naval timber was of such exacting specifications that only large tracts of woodland could supply the required quantities. Innovation in the forests therefore conflicted with tenant interest and with concern for national defence, as well as with the ancient prerogative of the crown. Conservative officials persuaded themselves that reinforcement of the forest laws might prove an ideal remedy: larger fines, more regularly collected, would simultaneously protect the woods and increase income. They did not propose to enlarge the forests but merely to neutralize the economic pressures upon them. Like other general schemes for woods and forests, this disregarded the disproportionate cost of timber transport and the profound differences between forests. Some of them were barely large enough to satisfy all the genuine claims of commoners and officials, others contained no royal demesne or no worth while woods. Some woods could be used for industry or to supply an extensive domestic market; in others the soil alone had any value, because they lay too far from any potential market for fuel or timber. Even a subtler and more enlightened policy, initiated under the Earl of Salisbury, was largely thwarted by such complications. Thus the attempt to enclose, disafforest and lease or sell uneconomic forests met with a dilatory response from purchasers in the second decade of the seventeenth century and with local riots and rebellions in the third; the sale of surplus timber and fuel lagged behind expectations and only industrial users were prepared to pay well for large quantities, yet their intervention further incensed the inhabitants, who regarded the woods as their perquisite. Lack of experience in large scale arboriculture and in the commercial management of woodlands introduced additional stresses, causing endless recriminations between crown, industrialists, officials and local populace. The ordinary courts failed to solve these perplexities; the cruder and more summary procedures of the forest law, argued the traditionalists, might be more effective. Moreover all parties agreed that the forest eyre remained the most effective method of establishing the legitimate extent of royal and popular privileges in each forest: this was a necessary preliminary to sale as much as to enforcement. Consequently traditionalists and reformers could agree to revive the eyre as an inquisition, although their further perspectives differed.

The sudden resurrection of an institution which has been attenuated over 300 years is a revolutionary step. It is bound to increase the work of officials: but for a great man like the fourth Earl of Pembroke, the

office of chief justice of the forests south of Trent was merely one of his numerous preferments and neither pressure nor ambition could easily convert him to radical reform. He died in 1630 and Henry, Earl of Holland, became the new chief justice; he was both pliable and ambitious. He appears to have co-operated willingly with the attorney general, Sir William Noy, who was probably mainly responsible for the new plan. Sir William was distinguished for his antiquarian legal learning and for the firm enforcement of the extensive rights of the crown which he found to be legitimate. But he tempered such enforcement with discretion; he foresaw that too literal insistence on all the forest rights might arouse resentment and even rebellion.⁷ Noy as crown counsel and Holland as chief justice held their first forest eyre at Windsor and Bagshot in September 1632. The new forest policy has generally been dated from this eyre for the forest of Windsor.⁸ Certainly it was conducted with a more meticulous regard for the ancient ceremonies and for the letter of the forest laws than had been the recent custom; it also re-extended the forest over much of Surrey. But its innovations were still balanced by deliberate restraint. Windsor contained a royal residence and had, at intervals, seen eyres throughout the sixteenth century: a new regimen might well rule more tightly but create at most a local sensation. Indeed there is little sign that Surrey regarded its re-afforestation with excessive alarm.⁹ The enhancement of royal and the deflation of private privilege were not accompanied by any notable attempt to inflict crushing penalties. More rigorous examination of claims and the extension of forest bounds were to play their part in subsequent proceedings, it is true, yet almost two years elapsed before the next eyre was held elsewhere. So long a pause does not point to the eyre of Windsor as marking the first step in a new policy for the forests.

If such a policy had been elaborated in 1632, it would surely have been applied next to Waltham, where eyres had been held as frequently as at Windsor. Instead Noy, in 1633, turned his attention to the forest of Dean. Dean was one of the forests which had long ago been abandoned to their inhabitants. For many generations no hunt had braved its mines and quarries, bogs and hills; only local use saved all its timber from rotting where it had grown; no forest eyre had visited it for 300 years. The forest covered part of one of the major English woods, containing a large proportion of open crown land and valuable coal and iron mines. Its extensive common was administered by a swanimote court, locally known as speech court.¹⁰ Since 1612 Dean had acquired new prominence: alone of all the forests it produced a considerable and growing revenue for the crown. The sale of fuel to the ironworks, specially built in the demesne forest, made the most substantial and

⁷ W. Noy, *A treatise of the rights of the crown . . .* (London, 1715), pp. 60–1.

⁸ Holdsworth, i. 105.

⁹ W. Jones, *Reports* (London, 1675), pp. 266–98; V.C.H. Surrey, ii (1905), p. 568.

¹⁰ C. E. Hart, *The verderers and speech court of the forest of Dean* (1950), and *The commoners of Dean forest* (1951).

regular contribution to this; and the crown had repeatedly broken its long-term contracts in order to re-let woods and works at a higher rent.¹¹ It thought itself entitled to do so because it chose to regard as negligent or fraudulent, practices arising from general inexperience in the drafting and handling of such contracts. Surveyors could not agree on either cubic content or quality of standing trees; the effects of settling and drying on the content and quality of stacks of cut wood proved contentious; the overlapping responsibilities of forest law officers and royal surveyors led from bickering to open hostilities. The crown further aggravated confusion by granting a variety of minor concessions: batches of wood and timber sold *ad hoc*, tanbark farmed by a courtier and by him sold to individual tanners, long oak timber to be kept for the navy, short timber sold to coopers, and roots and stumps of all cut trees leased to a local gentleman.¹² The commoners' claims to building timber and fuel, and the Dean miners' right to pit-props, added another incalculable complication. Moreover people still looked upon open woodland as a natural gift, like wild berries; they had not yet come to respect it as private property of some value. The crown could neither decide whether to sell its trees for money or to keep them for ships, nor whether its underpaid officials were greater rogues than the local gentry: thus confusion abounded. Mutual recriminations would flourish on such soil; ordinary legal process could not hope to penetrate to the truth beneath them.

The commoners of Dean were reluctant to concede the crown's right to sell its trees; their detestation of enclosure was automatic and virtually unanimous. They regarded it as an attack on the basis of their traditional economy, which the forest laws themselves had guaranteed. But land sold as perpetually open common had little value; land kept to grow trees remained seriously understocked as long as it was not enclosed to protect young shoots against marauding cattle. Enclosure was the key to effective exploitation of the forests; coppice could regenerate itself if protected for only nine years after cutting. Thus it may be estimated that between 5000 and 6000 acres of Dean were enclosed at any time to safeguard the future supply of fuel to the ironworks. To this were added, by 1628, more than 3000 acres of other enclosures of lands sold or granted to courtiers, amongst them John Gibbons, secretary to Lord Treasurer Weston,¹³ and Lady Barbara Villiers, who employed the notorious Giles Mompesson as her agent. Almost a third of the forest had thus been fenced; in self-defence, as they conceived it, the commoners blackened all intruders, thus further exacerbating the ordinary distortion and magnification of each minor event or symptom. The anti-enclosure rebellion of 1628, led by John Williams *alias* Lady Skimmington, quickly took hold amongst them; in the difficult territory

¹¹ In the seventeen years before 1628, the Dean works and woods had been let four times, for 54 years in all. (P.R.O., Patent Rolls, C66/1904, /2060, /2075 and /2258, Close Rolls, C54/2103). Only one, a seven-year lease, ran its full course.

¹² State Papers Domestic, Charles I, SP16/257/94 summarizes most of the current grants for Dean in the early 1630s. ¹³ He became Earl of Portland in 1633

of Dean it was not completely put down until 1632.¹⁴ By itself, this was enough to attract the government's attention.

The ironworks concession in Dean was a valuable prize, not merely for the Exchequer. Like other favours it could be won or lost by intrigue at Court, for which the complex local relationships offered much ammunition. The current lease of the Dean concession was due to end in 1628; in 1627 the bitter struggle for the new lease reached the public stage of memoranda and petitions. Sir Sackville Crow, a member of the Villiers entourage, ironmaster, courtier, projector, diplomat and recently treasurer of the navy, had lost a monopoly to found all guns for merchant ships: he thought the Dean concession might compensate him for the loss.¹⁵ Another competitor, Sir John Kyrle, calling himself neighbour and friend of the secretary of state Sir John Coke, made iron in Herefordshire and sought to extend his business into Dean.¹⁶ Thirdly, the partnership of Sir Basil Brooke, the recusant owner of Madeley in Coalbrookdale, and George Mynn, a London merchant, clerk of the Hanaper and deputy governor of the Society of the Mineral and Battery Works, had to rely upon guile and cash to carry the day for them. As a first step they used their position as members of the Court of the Mineral and Battery Society to outbid the sitting tenant Thomas Hackett, when his lease of the company's wireworks at Tintern and Whitebrook, adjacent to Dean, came up for renewal.¹⁷ Hackett was a protégé of William, Earl of Pembroke, a power at Court as well as governor of the Mineral and Battery Society and chief constable of the forest of Dean. By admitting Hackett into partnership with them at the great man's request, Brooke and Mynn gained his support. With the bait of two years' rent paid in advance—more than £6600—Pembroke obtained the Dean ironworks concession in his own name and promptly transferred it to them; he himself was to receive from them £600 a year while the concession operated.¹⁸ On his death in 1630, the title and most of his estate passed to Philip, Earl of Montgomery, who in June 1631 also succeeded his brother as chief constable of Dean. Montgomery showed no marked enthusiasm for his newly acquired clients,¹⁹ and their rivals still agitated against them, seconded by the local interest. This was principally represented by Sir Bainham Throckmorton, who had inherited from his mother's family office and prestige in the forest and from his father hostility to all outside intervention in Dean. In April 1634 he secured backing at Court by the prince of contact men, Endymion Porter. He had also discovered Pembroke's lukewarm

¹⁴ D. G. Allan, 'The rising in the west', *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., v (1952-3), 80.

¹⁵ *The letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), ii. 577, 619; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1619-23, p. 202; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, *Addenda 1580-1625*, pp. 629, 639; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1627-8, p. 100; SP16/251/56-7.

¹⁶ H.M.C., 12th Rept., App. pt. i, Cowper/Coke MSS., pp. 125, 265, 281.

¹⁷ Brit. Mus., MS. Loans 16, Minute Book of the Society of the Mineral and Battery Works, ii, fos. 20d-23, Dec. 1626 to May 1627.

¹⁸ C66/2416; Chancery, Forest Proceedings Modern, C99/22.

¹⁹ C99/25; SP16/285/7, p. 5, SP16/285/71, SP16/375/34.

attitude towards the concessionaires. Porter and Throckmorton apparently devised a scheme to attack Brooke and Mynn, perhaps already hoping to supplant them.²⁰ All these rival interests pressed upon authority ample, if not necessarily reliable, information about Dean: not many whispers in the forest escaped publication at Court.²¹

Preparations for the Dean eyre seem too lengthy and too open to be regarded as an intrigue against Lord Treasurer Portland, as has been alleged. Sir John Bridgman, chief justice of Chester, vice-president of the council of Wales, was appointed deputy constable of Dean in December 1632.²² His protégé John Broughton, who could gain the ear of Sir John Coke,²³ became surveyor of Dean in April 1633 and, within three months, was conducting a count of the woods in the forest and estimating their value.²⁴ His survey was unprecedentedly thorough for Dean: if not his appointment, then almost certainly his activities were part of the preparations for the forest eyre in the following year, when Bridgman was to be one of the judges. By November 1633 at the latest, intimation of impending changes in Dean had reached Sir Sackville Crow, who had continued to hanker after the Dean works since 1627, all the more because he had now lost his naval office too. He accordingly submitted a new and more pressing version of his scheme to found guns in the forest, either as the crown's manager or its tenant.²⁵ An order to the crown lessees in February 1634, signed by Lord Treasurer Portland himself, finally publicized the government's intention to hold an eyre in Dean.²⁶ The informed public glossed this as a prelude to the further sale of crown rights and property there. Thus two courtiers requested an option to tender for 8000 acres of Dean, should it be disafforested.²⁷

The crown expressed its plans more clearly in response to another application. Sir John Winter, a Gloucestershire magnate, recusant and ironmaster, offered an advance of £8000 and an annual rent of £4000 for the wood and soil of Dean, with an option on the woods and iron-works, after expiry of their present lease. This was accepted, 'yet with this prouiso that if vpon a Survey or other Informacon at a Justice Seate wee finde that greater yeerelie Revenue wilbe raised . . . for the woods aforesaid . . .', the better offer was to be preferred and Winter to be repaid an advance of £4000 with interest.²⁸ Portland, an astute man, clearly regarded such open and protracted proceedings as an

²⁰ SP16/375/34, 18 May 1634(?) (mistakenly placed in the *Cal. S.P. Dom.* for 1637).

²¹ E.g. H.M.C., 12th Rept., App. pt. i, p. 474.

²² C99/25; C. J. Skeel, *The council of the marches of Wales* (London, 1904), pp. 129, 148, 287 n. 3. ²³ H.M.C., 12th Rept., App. pt. ii, pp. 5, 51, 157, 231.

²⁴ SP16/236/82, SP16/245/19.

²⁵ G. E. Aylmer, 'Attempts at administrative reform, 1625-40', *E.H.R.*, lxxii (1957), 236; SP16/251/56.

²⁶ SP16/262/6 and 6i, warrant to Brooke, Mynn and Sir John Winter, prohibiting them from cutting down any tree containing naval timber before the eyre.

²⁷ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1633-4, pp. 380-1.

²⁸ SP16/266/69, Sir John Winter's warrant, April 1634. If no other offer had been received by 13 Sept. 1634, the grant to Winter was to stand.

ordinary piece of Exchequer business, not as an elaborate intrigue against himself. Noy's preparations for the justice seat, in the same spirit, did not attempt to ferret out new scandals, but seemed to be relying on the generally accepted perambulation of the forest. He intended to base proceedings against offenders on a series of Exchequer enquiries into local conditions, which had already served in some inconclusive prosecutions of concessionaires, officials and inhabitants, past and present.²⁹ The Dean eyre, planned without concealment since the middle of 1633, promised to become chiefly an inquisition, on the pattern of Windsor.

The situation in Dean, though, differed radically from that in Windsor forest. Windsor had probably been chosen first by the attorney general and the chief justice, Noy and Holland, because there forest tradition had remained quietly acceptable. Dean, on the other hand, had selected itself for the next eyre by its turbulence. Whenever the common law failed, as in this instance, to resolve problems created by changing conditions, the crown was traditionally inclined to rely on its prerogative jurisdiction. The summary procedures of the eyre, based on the testimony of local juries and officials, might, it was hoped, clear up new problems with ancient rules. In fact this method, however much it might appear to favour order and stability, set up stresses as great as those it was meant to remove. This effect was bound to distinguish the Dean eyre from that for Windsor but does not altogether account for the extent of the scandal created by Dean, greater than that caused either by Windsor or by any of the proceedings which followed.³⁰ Evidently too it was the new element introduced at Dean and its apparent success, rather than any plan devised before September 1632, which suggested a more systematic exploitation of the forest laws. A clear break of two years separated Windsor and Dean: an eyre for the forest of Waltham began three months after Dean; within eight months more, dates were promulgated for the New Forest, for Chute, Aliceholt and Northampton.³¹ All these resembled Windsor only in their stricter regard for the forest laws and their more searching investigation of perambulations; their methods and objectives were copied from Dean. It was of the eyres subsequent to Dean that Clarendon spoke as

²⁹ The only source for Noy's intentions for Dean is Sir John Finch's account of his proceedings there. This was not prepared to minimize his own responsibility, but he appears to have felt sufficiently on the defensive to make it probable that his story can be accepted; it would make Noy's attitude appear reasonably consistent. Two versions of Finch's report to the king have been used. Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 25302, fos. 56–66 is a complete copy of his well-known public statement; Glouc. Publ. Library, MS. LF 1.1, fos. 33–8 is identifiable, by internal evidence, as Finch's own more detailed and more revealing draft of the former. In the present article, quotations and details of the eyre not otherwise identified are derived from these two MSS. The Exchequer enquiries are mainly to be found in Exchequer K.R., Special Commissions and Returns, E 178/3837 and E 178/5304.

³⁰ The exceptional importance attached to the Dean eyre by contemporaries is shown by the unusual number of surviving copies of Finch's report, apart from those mentioned above: *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1634–5*, p. 143; Glouc. Publ. Libr., MS. LF 6.2; Bodleian, MS. Gough Glouc. 1; H.M.C., 3rd Rept., App., pp. 185, 211; H.M.C., 11th Rept., App. pt. vii, p. 250.

³¹ *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1634–5*, p. 227; *Cal. S.P. Dom., 1635*, pp. 12, 130.

proceedings which 'lighted most upon persons of quality, and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and therefore like to remember it with more sharpness'.³²

The transition from the remarkable to the scandalous began with Noy's disappearance from the scene because of a severe illness, which was to prove fatal. His death was anticipated by keen competition for his office as attorney general. He had intended to act as crown counsel for the Dean eyre, as he had done at Windsor: a substitute had to be found quickly. The crown had carefully selected all concerned with the eyres: apart from Holland, whose ambition far exceeded his scruples, the judges were Baron Thomas Trevor, erstwhile solicitor to Charles as prince; Sir John Bridgman, long the presiding spirit of the council of Wales; Mr. Justice William Jones, once chief justice in Ireland and now a judge of the King's Bench, more learned than independent. To fill the vacancy left in this group by Noy's removal the crown chose, in April 1634, Sir John Finch, attorney general to the queen, speaker of the commons in 1628, a man of great ability and greater ambition, a staunch upholder of the prerogative.³³ Finch coveted the king's attorneyship: a spectacular success at this moment would strengthen his claim.³⁴

Finch resumed preparations for Dean at the point indicated to him by Noy. The latter had been prepared to accept the current perambulation for Dean but Finch, hearing that some Gloucestershire lawyers were apprehensively searching the public records in the Tower and in the Tally office for copies, decided to emulate them. The perambulation of Dean had been unchallenged since 1300, when the disafforestation of seventeen vills had been registered; Finch now discovered an undated document of unknown provenance which declared this perambulation false and void. Without qualms about its validity, he decided to use it in an attempt to enlarge the bounds of Dean; but he also realized that this, in a long neglected forest, might have political implications. He discussed these with the judges on the eve of the eyre: he did not regard judicial impartiality as his concern. While Noy had been content to rely on the evidence of the Exchequer commissions for his prosecutions, Finch found they 'had produced little whereupon to ground any Judgement'. But London rumours had loudly accused John Gibbons, who had received some land, Sir Basil Brooke and George Mynn, the principal farmers, and Sir John Winter, who held a subsidiary farm of woods and ironworks,³⁵ of the most heinous misdemeanours in Dean. The rumours, it may be surmised, had emanated from their rivals, Throckmorton, Crow and the Kyrles. Finch, lusting for evidence of

³² Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *History of the rebellion*, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), i. 85.

³³ Holland, Noy and Finch appear in the *D.N.B.*, Trevor and Jones in E. Foss, *Judges of England* (London, 1857), vi. 338, 367; for Bridgman, cf. n. 22 above and G. Ormerod, *The history of the county palatine and city of Chester*, 2nd edn. (London, 1882) i. 65.

³⁴ H.M.C., 3rd Rept., App., pp. 282-3; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1634-5, pp. 206, 221.

³⁵ C99/22 and /36.

any kind, decided to pursue it to Gloucester. There too he prospered for, wrote he, there 'I heard the Bell ringe out against them'. His endeavour brought him 'great light from Sir Baynham Throckmorton' and from woodwards and other officials. London rumours and the evidence of officials collected in the Exchequer commissions had, he claimed in effect, been transmuted into proof by his journey to Gloucester. Perhaps to help them to a similar conversion, Finch again consulted the judges 'to know what course might be taken for havinge the offenders present'. Although the court had been prepared, there is nothing to show that the parties most likely to be affected had received more than a cursory warning of Finch's intentions.

The justice seat for the forest of Dean opened on 10 July 1634 at the village of Micheldean and was adjourned to Gloucester Castle. There it reopened, with due ceremony, before the Earl of Holland and his assistant judges. The parade of the forest officials with their regalia was followed by the formal presentation of claims to privilege in the forest, from grazing rights to the office of chief constable of the castle of St. Briavels and of the forest of Dean. Recital of the perambulation was part of this formal business of the eyre. The bounds of Dean were based on perambulations of 1298 and 1300, which had been confirmed by letters patent in 1301; the statute 1 Edward III, Stat. 2, c. 1, had settled all forests in their reduced bounds.³⁶ Finch now challenged them with his dubious document. He argued that these perambulations had been *ultra vires* in disafforesting what had been forest before the time of king John and ancient demesne. He also adduced in his favour the fact that some of the supposedly disafforested villages had continued to claim common in the forest. The legal validity of Finch's argument from fundamental as against royal and statute law cannot easily be decided: it remained arguable to some of his learned opponents. Politically it might have seemed inexpedient for an upholder of the prerogative himself to question royal powers. The jury of local men, unexpectedly confronted with Finch's case, deliberated from Saturday afternoon till Monday morning. Reluctantly and under some pressure from the judges it found for the crown, adding a rider that, in consideration of one patent, one statute and the custom of 300 years, the present bounds should be allowed to stand. Finch thereupon appealed to the judges for a statement of the law and, with its aid, persuaded the jury to drop its reservation. 'By this the King hath much enlarged the fforrest,' he wrote, 'but the Kings Counsell in regard of their being but newe brought in . . . thought it not fit to proceede with any of them at that Justice seate.' Small wonder that others found a decision unpalatable which left crown counsel uneasy.

Fortified by dinner, the eyre turned to consider offences in the forest, on the afternoon of Monday, 14 July. As has been said, cases

³⁶ Successive alterations in the forest's size may be followed in C. E. Hart, 'The metes and bounds of the forest of Dean', *Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxvi (1945), 166.

were normally heard by the lower forest courts, which could convict offenders, even *in absentia*. A roll of presentment was then drawn up, showing the names and a summary of the crimes: the eyre could pronounce sentence on this alone. Against its sentence appeals in error, i.e. on points of law, lay to the King's Bench; beyond this, only to the mercy of the chief justice of forests. The Dean court of presentment, the swanimote, had drawn up its roll with amazing speed. It had met a mere month before the eyre, on 10 June 1634, and found 420 cases of cutting, taking or selling of wood, 260 cases of enclosure or other encroachments, 80 cases of poaching, 10 cases of the unauthorized building of iron-works and some 30 miscellaneous ones; many of these concerned more than one person and some of them referred to events forty years old. The eyre must have passed sentence after only the briefest consideration; some £130,000 worth of fines were endorsed against the 800 presentments.³⁷ Finch himself thought these procedures open to criticism; he also wished to make an example of Brooke, Mynn, Winter and Gibbons. They were most prominent amongst all those affected; on the presentments they were liable to be fined almost £80,000 between them. Their fines would be high enough for them to complain about the summary procedure and trial without representation; their influence sufficient to make such complaints effective. Considerations of this type decided Finch to deal with them 'by way of a Speciall Indictment and not vpon the Swainmote roll'. By permitting defendants to employ counsel and to call witnesses, this procedure anticipated one of their possible complaints, but that it did not favour them unduly becomes evident from an examination of their fate.

John Gibbons, who was called first, had allegedly taken and enclosed more land than he had been granted in Dean, had then wangled a perpetual lease of the total and a licence to cut all the trees on it. He was not convicted for sharp practice but either because the extended grant did not use the words 'in the forest', or because he had cut the timber before this grant had been sealed.³⁸ As his sale of the land was permitted to stand unimpaired,³⁹ the primarily technical nature of his offence had perhaps been conceded: nevertheless he paid £8000 or nine-tenths of his fine of £8600, a much higher proportion of his sentence than anyone else.⁴⁰ Was he made to pay because he was guilty, or because the lord

³⁷ Particulars of presentments, fines and payments, unless otherwise referred to, have been taken from two copies of the swanimote roll for June 1634, Bodleian, MS. Gough Glouc. 1, fos. 17-68d and Brit Mus., Harl. MS. 4850, fos. 10-53d. Fines were endorsed on the roll against all presentments, including those against Brooke and the others sentenced again on indictment, to a different set of fines.

³⁸ Hints regarding the legal grounds for convictions can be found in Finch's account and in W. Jones, *Reports* (London, 1675), pp. 347-8. Jones's version, as that of an assistant judge at the eyre, should be the more reliable and he emphasizes the omission of the vital words, whereas Finch claims that Gibbons was sentenced for the theft of timber. The repeated differences in these two accounts make the proceedings even more suspect.

³⁹ The purchaser, Sir Robert Bannister, was allowed to retain it (*Bills and Answers, Exchequer K. R.*, E112/181/131).

⁴⁰ Receipt Book (*Pells*), E401/1924, 3 Jan. 1637/8. I owe all references to the Pells of Receipt to the kindness of Mr. P. Kerridge.

treasurer's enemies, having found their prey, were unwilling to release it, or was it merely the right price for the more extensive grant? The Venetian ambassadors, quick to seize upon any hint of scandal when lacking important news for their dispatches, interpreted the whole forest eyre as an attempt to discredit Portland.⁴¹ As the lord treasurer's secretary, Gibbons was certainly in an exposed position: he or his master might have thought it best to pay without protest and thus to give the least hold to hostile intrigue. But Brooke and Mynn, and by implication presumably Winter, whom the Venetians lumped with Gibbons as the treasurer's creatures, and who were far more severely attacked by the eyre, had dealt with Portland only as the crown's chief executive; the great Earl of Pembroke, to whom they owed their grant, would not have taken kindly to being described as the creature of Sir Richard Weston. If Gibbons's sentence was vindictive, this was probably due to Finch's drive rather than to his own iniquity, which was exceptional in neither scale nor depth amongst his contemporaries.

Brooke and Mynn were arraigned next, for the alleged theft of 178,200 cords of wood,⁴² worth 6s. 8d. each, in the last six years. This charge was buttressed by the ordinary complaints of most woodsellers against ironmasters: cords made too large, first-class timber coaled, first-class fuel wood paid for as inferior stuff, officials corrupted and woods callously destroyed. Finch offered two calculations in proof, one based on the amount of fuel which all their ironworks, working to full capacity, must have used over the years, the other on an attempt to estimate the number of acres they had cut, the number of trees per acre and the cubic content of an average tree. The statement was comprehensive rather than accurate. The defence claimed that they had used less wood and that they had paid, not only for their 10,000 cords a year, but for considerable amounts in addition. But they merely quoted the original accounts of the firm and refused to produce them in court; they may not have wished to disclose their profits to the crown or might have feared that fuel, purchased from other sources, would somehow be included in the peculiar reckoning of the eyre. They were rebutted, according to Finch because the procedure laid down in the patent had been disregarded; according to Jones, one of the assistant judges, because the chief justice of forests had not been asked to countersign their grants.⁴³ But apparently they were simply worn down by attrition: after seven hours of argument, they 'tooke occasion to desert the defence'. Thus a person of Brooke's pertinacity might express his contempt for the proceedings; it was far from an admission of guilt. Brooke and his partner were sentenced to pay £59,039 16s. 8d., in effect a second payment for wood purchased by them, as well as payment for

⁴¹ *Cal. S.P. Venetian, 1632-6*, pp. 263-4, No. 340, and p. 293, No. 372.

⁴² The cord is a stack of wood of locally differing dimensions; a long Dean cord then was 8 ft. 4 in. × 4 ft. 3 in. × 4 ft. 3 in.

⁴³ Cf. n. 38 above.

hypothetical amounts of wood once allegedly growing in Dean, some of which had been taken by others.

Sir John Winter, although he was perhaps even more self-righteous and stiff-necked than Sir Basil Brooke, had now been convinced of the futility of prolonged discussion. Advised by the recorder of Gloucester, he withdrew his defence to the charge of taking 60,700 cords of wood and was fined £20,230. Improbably, Brooke and Mynn might have been deceived wholesale by their subordinates: they were not local men and left managers in charge of their works. But Winter resided in Gloucestershire for much of the time and his estate bordered on Dean. His character was esteemed both by the crown and by some of its more moderate parliamentary opponents, although he was a prominent catholic. Whatever peccadilloes may have been committed in their name by lazy, incompetent or careless underlings, these three were serious men with a large investment in a highly profitable business. At the same time they could not but be aware of their many detractors and of their complete exposure to public observation. It is therefore not surprising that they regarded themselves as unjustly victimized. The principal sufferers first of all appealed, on a technical point, to the King's Bench; they all failed.⁴⁴ Gibbons, compelled either by guilt or by political considerations, kept his grant and paid his fine without written protest. Brooke and Winter resumed their case before the Council, arguing forcibly and at length against the injustice. They could not prove their complete innocence, but their guilt remained far from established.

The debate involved not merely their fines but also the fate of the Dean concession. Mynn, who had sold his share of it to Winter shortly after the eyre, became a more or less passive spectator.⁴⁵ Brooke and Winter retained the letters patent of their grant as a bargaining counter: these had been issued under the great seal and could neither be confiscated nor abrogated by the eyre. The chief justice of the forests however could and did suspend supplies of wood to the ironworks. The conflicting interests of law enforcement and of profitable exploitation thus produced deadlock—a not altogether unprecedented situation in Stuart England. The concession entitled the farmers to a monopoly of all wood from Dean destined to make iron; their payments on the other hand were directly proportional to the amount of wood handed over to them. In attempting to hold the balance between the prerogative, finance and equity, the crown managed to detract from all three. Indignantly it extracted from the farmers verbal assent to the strict legality of the proceedings at Gloucester.⁴⁶ Business-like, it received tenders for a new concession in Dean, from the old farmers as well as from others.⁴⁷ Mercifully, it at length admitted in mitigation most of the

⁴⁴ King's Bench, Controlment Roll, Hil. 10 Chas. I, KB29/283, m.s. 146, 147, 148, 161; Coram Rege Roll, Hil. 10 Chas. I, pt. iii, KB27/1014, Rex Roll, 41, 42.

⁴⁵ E112/182/163.

⁴⁶ SP16/293/69.

⁴⁷ SP16/285/7, p. 5, SP16/285/71, SP16/288/55.

arguments which had been rejected by the eyre.⁴⁸ First it expressed the intention, contrary to Star Chamber practice, of collecting the great fines in full,⁴⁹ then it reduced all but a few of them. Before June 1636 a general settlement had been agreed: the old grant was surrendered and the fines had been reduced to about a fifth, leaving Brooke and Mynn to pay £12,000, Winter £4000,⁵⁰ while the new concession went to the highest bid, submitted by Sir Sackville Crow, Sir Bainham Throckmorton and partners, at a rent increased by £2500 a year.⁵¹ Thus the crown was not ruthless enough to collect its £80,000, nor gracious enough to remit it altogether, nor sufficiently convinced of the justice of its dealings to stop the supposed criminals from tendering again. One of them indeed, Sir John Winter, was appointed as Henrietta Maria's private secretary four years after his sentence; in 1639 he also became one of the commissioners for disafforestation and was offered the whole of Dean for purchase.⁵² The crown, after all, could hardly have taken very seriously the allegations of wholesale fraud and breach of trust.

In dealing with the other fines, approximately £55,000,⁵³ the justice in eyre was not obviously guided by any general scheme. Local ironmasters and past farmers of the concession had become liable for £17,000 between them, not all for offences connected with ironworks. The rest ranged from 2s. for taking a few branches, or from £2 to £10 for the illicit building of cottage or house, to £100 or more for taking some tons of timber or acres of coppice. On poor men some of these fines fell heavily; probably they were partly paid by landlords or employers. When payment can be traced, the fines had often been reduced on appeal.⁵⁴ No pattern can be discerned in the reductions; perhaps they were the result of bargaining, influenced by ability to pay, severity of the crime and the petitioner's standing. On the whole, the fines in Dean may have been accepted as reasonable: neither complaints nor riots followed. Possibly it was relatively easy to avoid payment altogether, in the absence of adequate enforcement. Thus only forty-two payments were registered on one of the official copies of the swanimote roll to survive. A fine of £2400, on a minor forest official, was reduced to £50; Benedict Hall, a local recusant, considerable landowner and ironmaster, paid £880 of his £1300 fines or about two-thirds. Another £420 worth of assorted fines brought in £160; altogether sixteen fines of under £10 and six of £10 and over were paid in full. There is no

⁴⁸ In addition to notes 46 and 47, SP16/307/10 and 11.

⁴⁹ Sir Thomas Roe to Elizabeth of the Palatinate, 10 Dec. 1634: 'His Majesty will not lose the fruit but take all that is due to him upon the fines which are great, but not so great as the abuse.' (*Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1634-5, p. 350).

⁵⁰ E401/1923, 9 and 19 Aug., 2 Dec. 1636; E401/1924, 27 May 1637; C66/2766.

⁵¹ C66/2740.

⁵² D.N.B., *sub*. Sir John Winter; Bodleian, MS. Bankes 43/14; Gloucester Record Office, MS. Winter D421/E5.

⁵³ Brit. Mus., Harl. MS. 4850. This appears to have been the working copy of a clerk to the chief justice of forests; payments made are written above the entries of fines and presentations.

⁵⁴ Examples of remission of sentence on appeal to Holland for other forests can be found in *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1638-9, pp. 109, 140.

evidence to show how much of the remaining £50,000 worth of fines was collected; cautiously one might estimate it as worth another £1000 or so. All the fines then produced rather more than £26,000 and rather less than £30,000, about one-fifth of the original figure. Perhaps the increased income from the concession—at ten years' income £25,000—should be added to this.

As the proclamation of a more vigorous forest policy, such punishments might have been proper. In fact they merely became a bargaining counter. Within a year the crown began to offer its forest privileges in the whole of the enlarged forest of Dean for sale, wholesale or retail.⁵⁵ Their value had been enhanced by the newly pointed threat implied in them: it may, on the other hand, have been somewhat short-sighted thus to weigh the prerogative powers of the crown in the market-place. Certainly there were now men anxious to be 'out of the forest'. Winter compounded to disafforest his extensive estates for £1000;⁵⁶ two other manors cost £190⁵⁷ and £120;⁵⁸ a group of lesser men paid £250.⁵⁹ The newly extended forest covered the estates of a number of substantial men: payments to compound for disafforestation might well have brought in another £5000 or more. From more than 30,000 acres of Dean the forest proceedings had then raised about £1 an acre, between £30,000 and £35,000, from fines and disafforestation. It would not save the kingdom but was enough to encourage a similar exploitation of the forest laws throughout England.

Even to contemporaries, unfamiliar with the notion of a fair trial, Finch's degree of vigour would have been justified only by a grave crime or an important point of principle: it seemed excessive if merely used to raise some revenue. In fact it had been imported into the proceedings by him to further his own advancement. That he had run some risk is made clear by the tone of Finch's apologetic, which emphasized his zeal in the king's cause, while trying simultaneously to refute charges of undue harshness. Even if he exaggerated his own contribution, there can be little doubt it was decisive. This was acknowledged, albeit not precisely as he had intended: instead of the attorney generalship he obtained the lucrative office of lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, succeeding the insufficiently compliant Sir Robert Heath in October 1634.⁶⁰ After further service to the crown he became lord keeper on Coventry's death in January 1640.⁶¹

Meanwhile the Gloucester eyre had become the model for others; this was ensured by reappointing Finch crown counsel for the Essex eyre. In Essex his methods became more elaborate: he used another undated document, withheld from the defence, to challenge the traditional

⁵⁵ Rymer, *Fœdera* (1744), IX. i. 20-1.

⁵⁶ E401/1924, 29 July 1637, 5 Dec. 1637, 22 Feb. 1637/8; E401/1925, 12 June 1638.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 28 Nov. 1638.

⁵⁸ E401/1924, 24 Jan. 1637/8.

⁵⁹ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1637-8, p. 400, and E401/1925, 1 May 1638.

⁶⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1634-5, p. 221; Gardiner, vii. 362.

⁶¹ *D.N.B.*, sub. Sir John Finch.

bounds of the forest; he unleashed an unbridled attack upon the opposition; last but not least, he himself admitted the document as valid when, after the adjournment, he had been made one of the assistant judges.⁶² The perfected pattern was employed in eyres all over the country, in Hampshire, Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, to name only the most prominent. Everywhere the forest law was applied to a greater area and made more objectionable by stiffening the fines. Most of Essex became forest early in 1635, only to be included with Dean in the first commission for disafforestation a few months later—Finch sitting as one of the commissioners.⁶³ Everywhere the policy came to be regarded with apprehension; it was wildly rumoured that the value of one manor, afforested in the New Forest, might fall from £2500 to £500 a year.⁶⁴ Three great men were supposedly fined £51,000 between them at the Northamptonshire eyre in 1638.⁶⁵ Each new eyre was presently followed by a new commission for disafforestation: when the land-owners had been fined, they were permitted to purchase exemption from the next round.⁶⁶ Noy may have intended to revive claims which reasonable conformists could tolerate, and to establish, more thoroughly than possible in a survey, the full extent of crown rights in forests. Finch pursued them well beyond this point and, driven by his initial success, tended to increase the pressure. The crudity of his forensic methods stretched the very wide limits of contemporary practice; his proofs became more tenuous. The manner as well as the effect of his extemporalizations upon the forest laws aroused increasing opposition, although such opposition involved no attack upon the laws themselves. Expediency rather than policy was responsible for their present use; this would account for the vacillations in their execution. Except *in terrorem*, their decisive employment was difficult.

The forest law had been designed to protect the whole wilderness: it could not easily distinguish between abused naval timber and trees legitimately purchased. It had served when the demand for forest products had been too spasmodic to sustain a separate commercial organization. Except where game had been directly involved, its fines had been gently deterrent rather than prohibitive: forest inhabitants took what they needed and paid up when caught. Under those conditions, forest fines had brought a substantial revenue, especially if the cost of the whole forest law system was discounted. But any attempt to fit such a casual system to withstand the severe pressures of the seventeenth century was bound to distort it severely. Effectively prohibitive fines must reduce the income from the forests rapidly and indiscriminately. As a surcharge, intended to increase the price of wood agreed in a commercial contract, fines were an inefficient form of bargaining which might moreover frighten away customers. In any event, the

⁶² *V.C.H. Essex*, ii (1907), p. 619; *Cal. S.P. Dom.*, 1634–5, pp. xxxiii–xxxvi.

⁶³ Cf. n. 55 above.

⁶⁴ W. Knowler, *The Earl of Stafforde's letters . . .* (Dublin, 1740), i. 467. ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 117.

⁶⁶ Bodleian, MS. Bankes 43/19.

appointment of an expensive nightwatchman to sell off goods in his charge is rarely better than a desperate expedient. In many forests also fertile soil was the only commercial asset, yet the restrictive ordinances of the forest law depressed the price of land. Finch in fact discarded all such long perspectives. He extended the forests and crown rights within them, made them more otiose and branded offenders. By these means he might have restored order from chaos, punished criminals formerly unmolested and maintained dwindling supplies of timber. But the law and the protection of woodlands were sacrificed to the more spectacular fiscal success; this amounted to a sale of capital, forego ing future revenues. Moreover the excessive harshness, by which the apparent success had been achieved, reduced it considerably, by providing substantial grounds for objections; simultaneously it also aroused powerful and lasting hostility.

As one of Charles I's fiscal expedients, the restoration of the forest laws was moderately successful. The strict legality of the proceedings became almost irrelevant, as their number and effects grew. The revival was resented, because it was not seen to serve any principle of either policy or justice. The custom of selling licences conferring immunity against certain laws had long been well established. These laws however had been retained on the pretext that they facilitated a necessary control. But any attempt to rig the laws, merely for the sake of increased charges, had always provoked protest. In the forest eyres, men like the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Salisbury or Sir Christopher Hatton found themselves crudely squeezed and blackened by objectionable methods. The validity of titles to land—a most sensitive point—was questioned in pursuit of moderate gain. The protection of wood and timber had been forgotten almost as soon as remembered. The crown had once more abused its dignity for a mess of pottage.

The Long Parliament cited Sir John Finch's part in the forest eyres as one of the principal charges against him; he stayed to defend himself but, wisely, did not await the decision.⁶⁷ The repudiation of shipmoney and of the forest eyres by parliament received the royal assent together on 7 August 1641.⁶⁸ Forest bounds were henceforth restricted to their extent at the end of James I's reign. The law itself survived undiminished, at least in appearance; indeed in 1656 the Protectorate attempted to use a new Dean eyre to assist in the reformed administration of this forest.⁶⁹ No law however could compensate for the absence of competent forestry staff and of effective police, least of all an archaic code designed to uphold chaos. Statute could better protect the woods, the excise produced more revenue; by the end of the seventeenth century, the last forest eyre was observed as a 'legal curiosity, teaching much of the history of the law'.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ J. Rushworth, *Historical collections* (1659–1701), III. i. 136–9; D.N.B., *sub*. Sir John Finch.

⁶⁸ *Lords' Journals*, iv. 349; Statute 16 Chas. I, c. 16.

⁶⁹ State Papers Domestic, Interregnum, SP18/129/3, 4 and 60–3; SP25/77, p. 246.

⁷⁰ Holdsworth, i. 106, summarizing the views of Roger North, from *Lives of the Norths*, i. 57.

THE WHIGS AND THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN THE AGE OF GREY AND HOLLAND

G. F. A. BEST

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

POLITICAL OPPONENTS who cared for the preservation of Christianity in England and the safety of the established church were wont to speak harshly of the Whigs, as if they were men of no religion at all, whose principles were destructive of the church establishment and favourable to infidelity. This was not quite fair; but it must be admitted that high Whig society did little to discourage such a belief. Its most audacious years were in its heyday at Holland House, the cultivated brilliance of which is written into most artistic and literary, and all Whig, biographies of the time.¹ To subsequent generations nothing seems more delightful. Yet Tory disapproval was fierce. Wordsworth could not 'think without trembling of men like Sir Samuel Romilly and Lord Holland having important offices in the Government of this country'.² To him Whig politics and Whig society alike were corrupt, unprincipled, specious. When Grey and his colleagues spoke of salving their consciences by finding Bishop Phillpotts a piece of preferment without the cure of souls—'Souls indeed,' exclaimed Lord Dudley. 'Why, I doubt whether there is a man in the Government, except Charles Grant, that believes there is a soul.'³ Bishop Lloyd anathematized the Whigs' conduct in the last weeks of Goderich's ministry as

in every respect the meanest and most disgraceful that was ever displayed on the stage of public life in England . . . But suppose a Whig ministry, who are they to be? Lord Holland, his wife an atheist, and himself not far from it. Lord Lansdowne, a confessed Unitarian, Brougham a Deist, and others whom I could easily enumerate, of the same principles.⁴

He went on to wonder whether the Dissenters would stand for such

¹ Its singular importance as a Whig recruiting centre was recognized by Southey, who said that he wished Peel's party would found a rival. Letter to Rickman, 9 Feb. 1828. *Selections from Southey's Letters*, ed. J. W. Warner (1856), iv. 93-4.

² Letter to John Scott, 18 April 1816. *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth; the Middle Period*, ed. E. de Selincourt (1937), ii. 734.

³ 24 Dec. 1830, in his *Letters to Ivy*, ed. S. H. Romilly (1905), pp. 365-6. For this episode in Phillpotts's life, see G. C. B. Davies, *Henry Phillpotts* (1954), pp. 89-98.

⁴ Letter to Peel, 6 Jan. 1828. Br. Mus. Add. MS. 40343, fo. 101f. Hurrell Froude was just as scathing about their association with Canning, and had as low an opinion of their political morality: see his *Remains* (1838-9), i. 214 f., letter of 6 July 1827.

profligates in power, and concluded that they would be bribed to do so by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and other degradations of the established church. But how wrong he was to suppose that the moral Dissenters would object to the political leadership of the immoral Whigs! The Dissenters objected more to the privileges of the established church, which became increasingly an obsession with them after 1833, than to the shortcomings of the Whig leaders, whom they saw rather as allies in the destruction of antiquated and obsolete institutions, long overdue for reform or removal. If they fixed upon any aspect of upper-class morals as particularly deplorable, it was clerical worldliness and the establishment's lack of charity to outsiders. Politically, they could only object, not to Whig excess, but to Whig moderation.

For the Whigs did not disbelieve in an established church. Their idea of it was different from the Tories', in proportion as their constitutional theory was different, and the philosophy which their intellectuals brought down from Scotland was not that taught at Oxford; but whenever they were promoting the cause of civil and religious liberty, they said that this summary of their principles comprised the best interests of the establishment, and represented the true objects of the Christian religion.⁵ It would perhaps be truer to say that they believed in established churches than that they believed in the English, or any other particular, established church. In 1790 the greatest Whig of all said,

He ever should be a decided friend to an established religion, but it should be an establishment founded on the opinions of the majority of the people. The truth of religion was not a subject for the discussion of parliament; their duty only was to sanction that which was most universally approved, and to allow it the emoluments of the state.⁶

A year later Fox declared,

He would contend that the Christian religion was not adapted to ours, or to any form of government, but to all; but that the religious establishment of any country was to be governed not so much with regard to the purity of the precepts and truth of a religion, as with a view to that sort of religion which was most likely to inculcate morality and religion in the minds of . . . its inhabitants; and this opinion was sanctioned by the statutes which had passed, making one sort of religion the establishment of the north division of the kingdom, and another sort of religion the establishment of the south.⁷

⁵ So Peel felt bound in all fairness to point out to Bishop Lloyd that, whatever the private sentiments of Brougham and Lord John might be, 'they have never avowed that they wish to see the Church of England severed from the State; and they have always voted for that Declaration which asserted her establishment as permanent and inviolable'. 22 March 1828, in Peel's *Memoirs*, ed. Lord Mahon and E. Cardwell (1856), i. 88. The Declaration referred to is that proposed by Peel in the debate on the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts as a substitute for the sacramental test. 18 March 1828, Hansard, n.s., xviii. 1194.

⁶ 2 March 1790, when moving the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*, xxviii. 397. This side of Fox's interests is hardly noticed in that excellent modern study of Whiggism, John Carswell's *The Old Cause* (1954).

⁷ 21 Feb. 1791, in the debate on Mitford's Catholic Dissenters' Relief Bill. Cobbett, xxviii. 1267.

These two statements clearly include a good deal of the basic Warburton-Blackstone-Burke theory of the establishment—the ‘Ministry of Morality’, publishing the divine rewards and penalties—but on top of it stands the Whig notion that regard must be had to the sentiments prevailing in the country and the spirit and conditions of the times, and not at all to niceties of theology or priestly prerogative.

Of a church as it was understood by the Hackney Phalanx, the high-and-dry forerunners of the Oxford Movement, the Whigs had no idea at all;⁸ nor could they understand that the Protestant Tories who regarded the Church of Ireland as inseparable from the Church of England might base their argument on sincere religious principles, not mere political expediency or imperialism.⁹ When they spoke of a church they meant just what Locke meant in his *Letter concerning Toleration*,¹⁰ and they carefully distinguished it from an established church, which (both in the case of England and ideally) was ‘one of the most venerable institutions of every community, [deserving] to be protected and secured’.¹¹ Lord John Russell even denied its claim to be regarded as an institution *sui generis*. When the declaration was proposed in place of the sacramental test, he said

that he saw no cause why the Dissenters should make any declaration respecting the Established Church, which they were not called upon to make towards any other establishment of the state. For instance, there were those abroad who advocated annual parliaments, and universal suffrage; yet nobody dreamt of providing against such constitutional innovations . . . And why? Because it was more politic for the state to presume, that all its subjects felt a common interest in the due maintenance of what was essentially useful for the whole, than to fritter away their allegiance into privileged or excluded classes.¹²

The Whigs had no special attachment to the Church of England to make them view the Presbyterian Church of Scotland less favourably, and not all of them were so attached to Protestantism that they could not bear the thought of a Roman Catholic establishment in Ireland. About the latter they had to be discreet while concession was still on the yonder side of an impregnable Protestant Tory redoubt, but they delighted to remind the Tories that just across the border there was an admirable non-episcopalian establishment, as much part of the constitution as the Church of England, and not noticeably the worse

⁸ For the Hackney Phalanx, see A. B. Webster, *Joshua Watson* (1954) and the works therein referred to.

⁹ Cf. my article ‘The Protestant constitution and its supporters, 1800–1829’, *Trans. R. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser., viii (1958), 105 ff.

¹⁰ ‘A church, then, I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord in order to the public worshipping of God in such manner as they judge acceptable to him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls.’ *Second Treatise on Civil Government and Letter on Toleration*, ed. J. W. Gough (1946), p. 129.

¹¹ Sir James Mackintosh, 9 May 1828. *Hansard*, n.s., xix. 556–7.

¹² 18 March 1828. *Ibid.*, n.s., xviii. 1186–7. This point, like almost all the points made by Russell, had been made by Fox in 1790.

for its lack of bishops, pluralists, tithes, and test-acts.¹³ Whig Christianity was of the broadest kind; Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Anglican were equally Christian so long as they adhered to Christ's fundamental law of charity. Coke of Norfolk, for whom Christianity was epitomized in the doctrine 'Peace and goodwill to all mankind', said 'I wish every man to go to Heaven his own way. If he is a good man the path which he takes will lead him to the heavenly Mansions.'¹⁴ Bishop Bathurst ('He is incomparable', wrote Sydney Smith. 'He should touch for bigotry and absurdity'¹⁵), must have infuriated his reverend brethren by constantly quoting the 'peace and meekness' texts in reply to their strictures on his liberalism, or their assertions of church privilege. When the tendency of his opinions was attacked on one of many occasions, he wrote back,

I am sincerely devoted to, I cordially love, this Church: I love religion, however, still more—I admire the Temple, but I value far more highly those Christian graces of meekness, moderation, charity, and forbearance, which are the brightest ornaments and the only permanent support of every church, whether Catholic or Protestant. Union of heart among the governed is the firmest bulwark of all governments; and this can only be procured by conciliation.

If he were a Dissenter he would think his exclusion hard. Toleration would not pull down but would strengthen the establishment. And if his opponents would insist on culling cautionary tales from history, he would draw as many from the same grand source.

It is time to learn wisdom from the folly of those who have gone before us, and mildness from their asperity. It is time to forgive one another, and to recollect that the time approaches, when we shall all stand in need of forgiveness from Him who says, 'Judge not, and ye shall not be judged'.¹⁶

Not only Protestant but also Roman Catholic Dissenters were fellow-Christians, and the bishop cordially approved his son's distributing tracts by 'moderate and judicious Catholics, in those parts where ignorance and bigotry most prevailed'.¹⁷ He said that Southey's *Book of the Church* was praised by 'those who think that their own particular ecclesiastical establishment of Christianity is of much more consequence than Christianity itself',¹⁸ and his successor at Norwich, another good

¹³ Thus Brougham's distillation of venom for the Durham clergy at the Durham assizes, 9 Aug. 1822. *Speeches on Social and Political Subjects* (1857), p. 226.

¹⁴ In a speech at Thetford, July 1830. A. M. W. Stirling, *Coke of Norfolk and his Friends* (1908), ii. 86.

¹⁵ Letter to Dr. Reeves, 11 Aug. 1808, in *Letters of Sydney Smith*, ed. Nowell C. Smith (1953), i. 140–1.

¹⁶ Letter to Mr. Firth, 22 Feb. 1812. Mrs. F. Thistlethwayte, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Bishop Bathurst* (1853), pp. 202–4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Letters to Archdeacon Glover, about mid-1823, and Mr. Williams, 16 July 1826, pp. 266 f. and 307 f. respectively. The latter, by locating ignorance and bigotry among 'the mountains of Cheddar', suggests no high regard for the Misses More.

¹⁸ Letter to his son Henry, 21 March 1824. H. Bathurst, *Memoirs of Dr. Henry Bathurst* (1837), i. 231–2.

Whig, said 'I hear a great deal about zeal for the welfare of the *Church*. I wish I could hear more of anxiety for the welfare of *Christianity*'.¹⁹

Whig Christianity seems to have been largely a blend of the classical precepts of morality and the moral sense of the Scottish philosophers, improved by Christ's special injunctions to toleration and forbearance, and substituting for the dreamy ambition of establishing Christ's kingdom on earth, the nearer but no less desirable objective of the Reign of Liberty. Sydney Smith regularly talked about 'rational Christianity', the duties of tolerance and virtue, and the equal folly and wickedness of persecution.²⁰ Fox, indeed, made Tolerant Virtue the religion, and Christianity just one of its churches. The Christian principle of toleration, he said, was 'founded on the broad and liberal basis of reason and philosophy. It consisted in a just diffidence of our own particular opinions, and recommended universal charity and forbearance to the world around us.' For him also the Roman Catholics were fellow Christians, who in that age of enlightenment were discarding outmoded errors and superstitions. Accusations against them, he declared in 1790, were always unjust, 'For, would any man say that every duty of morality was not practised in those countries in which the Roman Catholic religion was established and professed?'²¹ Nor was the Christian the only religion fit to supply that virtue which made social harmony possible. When Mr. Powys, following Pitt in the same debate, pointed out that Fox's principle of toleration extended indefinitely to the inclusion of Jews, Mahometans, Brahmins, Confucians, and all sorts of sectaries, 'Mr. Fox cried, Hear Hear'.²² Every doctrine and convention that Christian churches superadded to 'those principles of morality which are common to all the forms of Christianity' and the primary Christian law of charity itself, came into the class of the 'speculative opinions' which did not affect civil conduct, and for holding which no man ought to be penalized by the state.

¹⁹ A. P. Stanley, *Memoirs of Edward and Catherine Stanley* (1879), p. 62. Soon after he arrived in Norwich the following very Whiggish verses were addressed to him by a local celebrity, James Berry:

'Most worthy Prelate of our Diocese,
We hail thee as the messenger of peace;
While clashing creeds their factious tales unfold,
In you the STAR OF REASON we behold:
False teachers now with all their art may try
Religious truths to hide and mystify;
The humble Christian may with truth rejoice
While factions yield to demonstration's voice;
Long may thy virtues be endear'd to fame,
And all have cause to bless a STANLEY's name.'

(See *A New Copy of Verses for Christmas 1837*, in the Bridewell Museum, Norwich.)

²⁰ There is however something less than perfect toleration in his strictness on, for example, the Methodists and Baptists, about whom he knew, truth to tell, exceedingly little, and whose ignorance and 'fanaticism' he lanced with a not very charitable pen. See his articles on 'Methodism' and 'Indian Missions' in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1808 and 1809.

²¹ 2 March 1790. Cobbett, xxviii. 387-390.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 430. Macaulay exactly echoed Fox's sentiments a generation later in his speech on Jewish Disabilities, 17 April 1833. See especially the fifth paragraph, on the theme 'Where are you to stop?'

These 'speculative opinions'²³ were an optional superstructure to basic religion with which no Whigs bothered greatly, even if they were as personally pious as Bishop Bathurst and Lord Milton,²⁴ and their constant espousal of schemes of education from whose religious parts all trace of doctrine was removed, was as much the result of conviction as of convenience. 'This is a most curious country, a most strange people', reported his brother from Ireland to Lord John Russell in 1827. 'Amongst other things, they are all quarrelling about religion . . . In short we poor helpless people who are quartered here, don't know which way to get to heaven . . .'²⁵ There is no explanation for the Whigs' native inability to see that the convinced Papist's and the convinced Protestant's 'speculative opinions' about his own rightness and his rival's wrongness would never cease to be politically troublesome, except in their refusal to take the claims of creeds and doctrines seriously; and the same state of mind goes far to account for their mistaking the attitude of the Dissenters and seeming genuinely sorry and not a little aggrieved when they discovered after the Reform Bill that the Dissenters wanted the humiliation rather than the reform of the establishment. Pusey picked up a story according to which Grey told the Dean of Chichester that 'the Dissenters had humbugged him'.²⁶ By itself this would not mean much; but it is only what was noted about the same time by Brougham in the House of Lords, Bishop Maltby in his *Charge*, and Cockburn in his *Journal*.²⁷ There was disillusionment on both sides of the Whig-Dissenter alliance after 1833.

Lord Melbourne's complaint that over-zealous religion interfered with private life is symbolic of the easy-going good-nature of Whig Christianity. Sydney Smith was depressed by the gloominess of some of his Methodist acquaintances.

I endeavour in vain to give them more cheerful ideas of religion [he informed Horner]; to teach them that God is not a jealous childish merciless tyrant; that he is best served by a regular tenour of good actions—not by bad singing, ill-composed prayers, and eternal apprehensions. But the luxury of false religion is, to be unhappy!²⁸

The Whig God did not frown upon his creatures' indulgence of their natural affections, and was to that extent a welcome patron of private

²³ E.g. Bishop Bathurst's view, that it was unreasonable and wrong to 'demand from Christians of a different denomination [i.e. a sect other than the established] a subscription to dogmas of a speculative nature, as a qualification for civil offices, when they are ready to give every practicable proof of their civil conduct.' Letter to his son, 1812. Bathurst, i. 126.

²⁴ For the latter, see David Spring, 'Earl Fitzwilliam and the Cœn Laws', *Am. Hist. Rev.*, lxi (1953–4), 287 ff.

²⁵ *Early Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, ed. Rollo Russell (1913), i. 260–1.

²⁶ Letter of 16 Feb. 1834, in H. P. Liddon, *Life of Pusey* (1893–7), i. 285.

²⁷ Hansard, 3rd ser., xxiii. 844 ff.: *Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Lewes* (1834), p. 8: *Journals*, 1831–1854 (1874), i. 90–1. Of course the Dissenters' new tone was also noticed by Tories and high churchmen who had never affected to trust the Dissenters or to be trusted by them.

²⁸ Letter of 25 Nov. 1816, *Letters*, i. 269.

life: but the different ideas formed of Him by different men were certainly not meant to be of any account in the conduct of their private friendships; and still less were they to intrude in the reasonable counsels men took together for the ordering of their social and political life. None proclaimed more insistently than the Whigs and their followers that religion and politics were clean different things. A remarkable illustration of this comes from the mouth of Macaulay, candidate for the representation of Leeds in 1832, in answer to some unfortunate Methodist minister's innocent question, What was his religion?

I have heard [he said] with the greatest shame and sorrow the question that has been proposed by a minister of religion. I do most deeply regret that any person should think it necessary to make a meeting like this an arena for theological discussion. I will not be a party to turning this assembly to such a purpose. Gentlemen, I am a Christian. (Cheers.) This is no subject for acclamation. I will say no more. No man shall speak of me as the person who, when this disgraceful inquisition was entered upon in an assembly of Englishmen, brought forward the most sacred subjects to be canvassed here, and be turned into a matter for hissing or for cheering . . .²⁹

It must not be thought that Macaulay's indifference to denominational barriers was a Whig phenomenon novel in the Reform era, only possible after constitutional settlement of the 'Catholic question'. Before 1829, all Whigs were of course advocates of emancipation, but their grounds for being so were not those of the 'Catholic' Tories led by Canning and Harrowby. Building on ground higher than expediency, they added to the principle of religious liberty at large a characteristic optimism concerning the changes in the nature of Roman Catholicism which were sure to be worked by 'the March of Mind'. Neither Whigs nor Protestant Tories had any intention of submitting political issues or private concerns to the judgement of an independent and authoritative priesthood; but the Protestant Tories did not doubt that such judgement could lead to effective clerical control, and because it actually did so where the Church of Rome prevailed, they fought it. The Whigs, on the other hand, although they did not deny that the Roman religion was, as a religion, far from ideal, were inclined to pooh-pooh Protestant bogey-tales of priestcraft, and, pleasantly involved as they were with the progress of intelligence and the 'diffusion of light', they believed that Roman Catholicism would be touched by it in common with all other religious and philosophical systems. In 1805 Bishop Watson was of opinion that 'the progress of science' was doing away with bigotry, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.³⁰ Three years later Bishop Bathurst was saying that 'Christians of all denominations appear at last to be convinced that they are not required by their Great Master, or by the maxims of sound policy, to

²⁹ Sir G. O. Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Macaulay*, ch. 5. Three years later the radical Molesworth treated a similar question in the same place with the same severity. See Morley's *Gladstone*, Bk. 2, ch. 3.

³⁰ Letter to Grattan, April 1805. R. Watson, *Anecdotes of his own Life* (1818), ii. 234-40.

support any particular mode of religious worship, by means directly in opposition to the end and design of all religion'. The Roman Catholics, he asserted, had not been behind the Protestants in adopting

liberal and truly Christian sentiments; their conduct upon some recent occasions, and the unequivocal declarations made by them in a variety of publications, are strongly expressive of their total disapprobation of compulsion in religion, [and] decidedly prove that they disclaim many of those highly exceptionable tenets which were once a part of their creed.³¹

For this reason, Bathurst and those who shared his views regarded the cry of 'No Popery!' as a superstitious hangover from ages of bigotry and ignorance, perpetuated in the dawn of knowledge mainly as a Tory party tactic, and they were always expecting its final disappearance. George Ponsonby told Plunket early in 1807 that 'No Popery' was dead, and if only George III were out of the way, the Roman Catholic Relief Bill would pass like a Turnpike one.³² The election of the same year demonstrated the extent of his error. But again in 1809 Brougham was just as hopeful. 'I give you joy', he wrote to Grey when Grenville won the Oxford Chancellorship election; 'never was any victory more important or more ominous to the Court . . . It gives "No Popery" a death-blow; Toryism and *twaddle*, and illiberality of every kind such a shake as it can scarcely recover; it will even make Oxford a more liberal place.'³³ In 1812 Whitbread still nursed the unconquerable hope that religious differences between Christians were at last coming to an end. He was doomed to disappointment. Sixteen years later, Southey ridiculed his mistaken optimism.³⁴ But it can be half-excused. In those years change was proceeding too extensively and too fast for anyone to predict accurately where and how it would happen; and the laugh was not all against Whitbread, for Southey also said that if the right remedies (i.e. economic and social reforms) were applied to Ireland's diseases, 'Catholic Emancipation' would become as feeble and vain a cry in Ireland as parliamentary reform had become in England.³⁵ This, within twenty-four months of the Reform ministry! In fact neither cry was dead, and 'No Popery' was sufficiently irrational to flourish inexplicably throughout the century. By 1839 Lord John had given up hoping for its decease.³⁶

Yet, however much the Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters disappointed them, the Whigs could hardly throw them over. To have

³¹ *Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Norwich, 1806*, in Thistleton-Wyke, pp. 136 ff. Cf. the true Whiggery of *Reunion All Round, or, Jael's Hammer laid aside, and the Milk of Human Kindness Beaten up into Butter and Served in a Lordly Dish*, in Ronald Knox, *Essays in Satire* (1925), p. 70.

³² Michael Roberts, *The Whig Party, 1807-1812* (1939), p. 31, and C. L. Falkiner, *Studies in Irish History and Biography* (1902), p. 209.

³³ Brougham, *Life and Times, written by himself* (1871), i. 490. See also Francis Horner, *Memoirs and Correspondence* (1843), ii. 18.

³⁴ 'Essay on the Catholic Question', 1828, in *Essays Moral and Political* (1832), ii. 386.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 443.

³⁶ In the debate on education, 20 June 1839. Hansard, 3rd ser., xlvi. 666.

done so would have amounted to an admission that civil and religious liberty were not after all to be so easily attained; and if Whiggism did not stand for the attainment of perfect civil and religious liberty, it stood for nothing at all. By 1800 the Whigs had well over a century's advocacy of that cause behind them. Their attachment to it had not weakened with the passage of time, nor with the disappearance of those cruder forms of persecution against which the founders of their creed had originally taken their stand. Indeed, they seemed more attached to it than ever in the age of Fox and Holland, when Whigs often pressed their principles with an emotionalism, even a sentimentality, that made the difference between them and their Tory opponents more than one of principle alone. This rhetorical warmth in the service of their old cause has its place in their attitude towards the problems of the relations of church and state, for besides inclining them to a generous evaluation of the essential virtues and peacefulness of both Popery and Protestant Dissent, it meant that there was in their way of speaking an ambiguity which obscured the ultimate tendency of their principles.³⁷ In reality, the principles of Whiggism no more guaranteed the preservation of an established church, than they enabled them to halt the tide of parliamentary reform with the Reform Bill.

The finality of the latter measure could not be effectively asserted by a party one of whose proudest boasts it was that it paid attention to public opinion and kept up with progress; a party which patronized and encouraged the eminent apostles of progress, and told them that no institution was unchangeable. E. G. Stanley might well ask Russell for more information about 'the Committee for promoting Religious Liberty' before he committed himself to support it. How far did its objects go?

—not, I conclude, to placing Dissenters, whether Catholic or Protestant, upon a par with the Established Church in matters not political, as, for instance, exempting them from contributing to the support of the Establishment—and yet this might fairly come into some persons' notions of Religious Liberty . . .³⁸

It did indeed; and it was no good for a Whig, whose heart had alternately glowed with indignation and bled with anguish for their sufferings, to cry 'Hold!' to the Roman Catholics and Dissenters once the Whigs were in power, and expect them to stop and listen. Yet this is what some of them expected. For example, in the second of the two gratuitously helpful *Letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, published in 1833, Bishop Bathurst's son rejoiced as a good Whig that the Irish Church Bill had passed and that its principle was admitted—'viz., that the State has a right to re-model the Church as to its internal arrangements,

³⁷ In this they resembled the Protestant Tories, the most ardent friends of the established church, who were most of them really Erastians. (Following Figgis's definition of this much abused term, in his article 'Erastus and Erastianism', *Journal of Theological Studies*, ii. 66 ff.)

³⁸ Letter of 22 Oct. 1828. *Early Correspondence*, i. 282–3.

with a view to its efficiency and better satisfying the purposes for which it was instituted'.³⁹ But later on, after outlining what further concessions should be made by the Church, he asked Roman Catholics and Protestants to remember that they were *concessions* and not *rights*:

because when the Catholic Relief Bill and the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts were passed, by those Acts Catholics and Dissenters particularly bound themselves, that upon condition of those concessions they would agree solemnly not to impair or injure the established church—in short, not to interfere more against that church, but to put up with what seemed the remainder of grievances connected therewith.⁴⁰

So, in effect, we are presented with the risible spectacle of the Whigs calling upon both Popish and Protestant Dissenters to play the game, to show the manly generosity with which the Whigs had liberally credited them in the days of their distress, and trust the Whigs. Yet regularly in debates before 1829 the Whigs and their supporters had demanded relief for Roman Catholics and Dissenters on grounds, very largely, of *right*, and as regularly had the Tories denied that they could be given anything more than *concessions*, not of right but of grace.⁴¹

The Whigs' idea of an establishment was that it should rest on the good opinions and steady affection of the people, or at least the majority of the people. They believed that it could have no other sound foundation; to the majority of the representatives of the people in the sovereign legislature it owed its existence as a privileged body, a sect raised to the eminence of establishment by the favour (and the self-interest) of the state. The state was master. When in 1819 Dr. Phillimore put forward, as one cogent objection to William Smith's Dissenters' Marriage Bill, that it required the clergy to perform a function which might, in certain circumstances, be offensive to their consciences, Sir James Mackintosh replied that this was no matter. In fact he was alarmed at the principle behind such an objection.

The marriage ceremony, and the other rites of the church of England were established by the act of authority, and the power which ordained could require (though it could not do it without deliberation) that those ceremonies should not be performed in certain cases. Religion was the relation of man to his Creator, but an established church was the creature of civil polity.⁴²

Bishop Bathurst and his son thought the same. So did Lord John Russell: there was no limit to what the House of Commons could do, if it wished; what alone limited, and should direct, the use of its power, was the temper of the country.⁴³ His draft amendment to the Address

³⁹ Bathurst, ii. 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 43. See also my article 'The constitutional crisis 1828–1832', *Theology*, lxii (1959), 229–30.

⁴¹ E.g. in debates of 28 Feb. 1825, Hansard, n.s., xii, Burdett, 764 ff. v. Peel, 814 ff.; and 26 Feb. 1828, *ibid.*, n.s., xviii, Russell, 676 ff. v. Inglis, 710 ff.

⁴² 1 July 1819, *ibid.*, xl. 1505.

⁴³ Lord John Russell, *Essay on the Constitution* (2nd edn., 1823), esp. ch. 23.

in 1835 concluded with the hope that the king's government would 'purge the Church of England and Ireland of those abuses which offend the best friends of religion, disturb the peace of society, and are incompatible with the welfare of the State'.⁴⁴ The state was what the Whigs really cared for; meaning thereby the community as it was organized to secure by material means its members' physical safety and economic well-being.⁴⁵ The great difference, as they saw the matter, between the state and any church was, that while there was no doubt about the ends and operations of a state, there was much doubt as to the ends and operation of a church.

Their idea of the state—perhaps it would be more accurate to say, the idea of the state enunciated by the intellectuals of their party—was simple; and their political theory was correspondingly radical. It could not exclude (though their political practice was careful to ignore) the possibility of abolishing the monarchy. The king's duty was simply to execute the laws entrusted to his care. 'But if at any time the people should require of him new liberties, he is bound to give them the species of government which the state of the nation, and the knowledge of the age, may demand. The foundation of every durable government is the consent of the realm.'⁴⁶ There was nothing sacred about a king, added Russell, nor anything more than convenience about a religious establishment. Neither Macaulay nor Fox went so far as Warburton had in his *Alliance of Church and State*. Macaulay set out in company with Warburton, and, as he put it, remained with him pretty sociably⁴⁷ until he got to the contract between civil magistrate and church, which he joined Gladstone in designating a fiction.⁴⁸ To Fox, Warburton's 'alliance' was a 'new-fangled doctrine'; the state had no business with preserving the purity of Christianity.⁴⁹

But Macaulay agreed with Warburton that, once a state had decided to establish a sound religion, it should be the religion of the majority of the people. The Tories were appalled at the consequence of this principle, which the Whigs accepted as natural and just at the same time as they applauded the wisdom of making the established church as comprehensive as possible. Its breadth and diversity, said Macaulay, were among the Church of England's glories;⁵⁰ and its tendency to go easily along the middle of the way was greatly to its credit. Lord

⁴⁴ Sent to Melbourne, 13 Feb. 1835. *Early Correspondence*, ii. 94–5.

⁴⁵ E.g. 'We consider the primary end of government as a purely temporal end, the protection of the persons and property of men.' Macaulay, 'Gladstone on Church and State', in *Works* (1866), vi. 372. Cf. *Edinburgh Review*, lli (1830–1), 364: 'Government exists for the purpose of keeping the peace—for the compelling us to settle our disputes by arbitration, instead of settling them by blows—for the purpose of compelling us to supply our wants by industry, instead of supplying them by rapine.'

⁴⁶ Russell, *Essay on the Constitution*, ch. 10.

⁴⁷ I.e. agreeing that man in society needed religion as well as civil law, that the end of civil society was as Locke had given it, and that religious societies were sovereign in their own sphere, and independent in origin and government.

⁴⁸ Macaulay, vi. 372.

⁴⁹ Cobbett, xxviii. 399.

⁵⁰ Macaulay, vi. 370, and W. Field, *Memoirs of Parr* (1828), ii. 281.

Melbourne, when young and still diligently Whiggish in thought, word, and deed, wrote to his mother,

If we are to have a prevailing religion, let us have one that is cool and indifferent, and such a one as we have got. Not that I am so foolish as to dread any fires and faggots and wheels and axes, but there are other modes of persecution. Toleration is the only good and just principle, and toleration for every opinion that can possibly be formed.⁵¹

For like reasons, Brougham announced his loyalty to the establishment.

There is a vast mass of religion in the country, shaped in various forms and burning with various degrees of heat—from regular lukewarmness to Methodism. Some Church establishment this feeling *must have*; and I am quite clear that a much reformed church of England is the safest form in which such an establishment can exist.⁵²

Such a reformed and reduced establishment would bear no ill-will towards Dissent. The Whig attitude towards Dissent varied from Whig to Whig. Aristocratic and all but atheistic, Lord Holland was gratified to extend to the Dissenters his party's protection and assistance, but he did it from principle rather than preference, and he tells at least one conventional story against dissenting cant and hypocrisy.⁵³ Dr. Parr, however, went so far as to regard Dissent as a good rather than an evil, which introduced healthy competition and intellectual activity into British Christianity. He used to contribute to dissenting building funds since 'the state takes care of us; and we ought to take a little good care of them'.⁵⁴ The Whigs could never see why members of a Protestant establishment should shun Protestant Dissenters, nor could they find any reputable reason for resisting the principle of a Roman Catholic establishment in Ireland, unless, with Bishop Watson, they allowed an exception to their rule in a case when, as in Ireland, 'the minority of the inhabitants possesses a majority of the property by which the establishment is maintained', and co-established the religion of the propertied minority with that of the majority.⁵⁵ Russell, viewing Ireland with splendid detachment, decided the situation called for three co-established religions.⁵⁶ This, it is true, was after the Reform Bill, when

⁵¹ Letter of 27 March 1800. L. C. Sanders, *Lord Melbourne's Papers* (1889), p. 29.

⁵² Letter to Creevey, March 1823. H. Maxwell, *Selections from the Creevey Papers* (1905), pp. 408–9. He goes on, 'It is a quiet and somewhat lazy Church: certainly not a persecuting one. Clip its wings of temporal power (which it increasingly uses on behalf of a political slavery) and purify its more glaring abuses, and you are far better off than with a fanatical Church and Dominion of Saints, like that of the 17th century; or no Church at all, and a Dominion of Sects; like that of America.'

⁵³ *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party, 1807–1821*, ed. Lord Stavordale (1905), pp. 131–2.

⁵⁴ Field, pp. 277–9. Parr seems with all his conceit and pomposity to have been a good and generous man. Besides helping the Dissenters, he also helped to alleviate the distress of the Scottish Episcopalians, who would certainly never have given anything to assist the propagation of the views of Dr. Parr. R. D. Middleton, *Dr. Routh* (1938), p. 73n.

⁵⁵ Watson, ii. 236.

⁵⁶ 'There are three principal religions in Ireland; the Establishment, few in numbers but strong in landed property; the Roman Catholics, numerous and containing nearly all the very poor class; the Presbyterians, considerable in numbers and remarkable for intelligence and commercial industry. All three ought to be provided for by the State.' Memorandum on Irish Policy, 18 Oct. 1833. *Early Correspondence*, ii. 43.

the Tories were far from office and it was safe to say such things; but surely it was the only consistent line a Whig could take.

The Whigs, however, were not consistent in the lines they did take. Starting from a noble indignation at the restrictions of civil rights, the degradations and practical disadvantages which were for all sorts of nonconformists the result of the Tory views of church and state, the Whigs set out to abolish the marks of distinction between safe and dangerous citizens which the Tories relied on; and this they were the more easily able to do, through having lower, and by definition more comprehensive, views of both state and church. Such views served well so long as the strong hand of power (against which the Whigs, in the days of their opposition, had constantly inveighed) controlled the demolitions so as not altogether to destroy the fabric of social safety and contentment. When the state of society became such that it was necessary to construct new institutions, Whig views proved less sufficient and satisfactory. Whiggery sealed its death warrant in English politics the moment it began to maintain that there need be no exclusiveness in politics at all; for in the morning it was preaching ideas of liberty which only an enlightened despot, or perhaps a Whig aristocracy, could have put into effect at that time; and in the evening it advocated popular principles which could not stop short of full democracy, and the less enlightened supremacy of the majority.

But before 1832 only a few unkind Tories pointed this out. Carried buoyantly along by their sense of justice and the generosity of their hearts, the Whigs advocated at the same time the emancipation of the Roman Catholics and an improved representation; two policies which, considering the hostility to Popery felt by the great majority of the English nation, were far from consistent with each other. Nor was it going to be easy for them to maintain that the principle of Appropriation (as it was embodied in the 147th clause of the Irish Church Temporalities Bill) was wholly compatible with the security of private property.⁵⁷ Their attitude towards the Jews was not free from ambiguities, for one Whig might, with Fox and Macaulay, suppose that religious liberty covered every religion whatsoever, and another might suppose, like Lady Stanley of Alderley, that there was a 'wider difference between Jews and Christians than between different shades of opinion and belief'.⁵⁸ And the same uncertainty, result of the same good-natured imprecision and perhaps worldliness, blurred the edges of their advocacy of Roman Catholic emancipation; for, surprising though it may appear in a party devoted to Paley's majority principle, there was dissension in Whig ranks over the treatment to be given the

⁵⁷ As his father pointed out to Althorp, 16 June 1834. D. Le Marchant, *Memoir of Althorp* (1876), pp. 492–3.

⁵⁸ Letter to Mrs. Edward Stanley, 2 April 1841. N. Mitford, *The Ladies of Alderley* (1938), p. 6. She went on, 'I do not see how a Jew can conscientiously judge in a Christian court, besides it would be a grievous cause of offence to so many and might as well have been left alone [by Macaulay].'

Roman Catholics after their emancipation. Until 'the March of Mind' made greater progress with Popery than had been made by 1830, Paley's principle could easily conflict with that crowning Whig virtue, a 'manly love of rational liberty',⁵⁹ and this further latent contradiction of Whiggism exploded violently in 1834, and blew Stanley, Graham, Richmond and Ripon out of the ministry. So on the one hand Graham, 'adhering to Whig principles', regarded 'with peculiar jealousy a dominant Catholic Church', and felt that the establishment of Popery would mark a sinister 'triumph of agitation over law';⁶⁰ while on the other hand Sydney Smith thought that the Government was absurd not to take 'bold Church measures for the destruction of the Irish Protestant Church and the payment of the Catholic Clergy'.⁶¹ Lord John Russell looked upon Whiggery as the embodiment of everything that was excellent, and seems to have thought himself the embodiment of Whiggery. But Brougham, who in the days of his glory as Chancellor was as prominent a Whig leader as Russell, felt doubts concerning Popery which never touched Lord John—not, at least, until his prudent Letter to the Bishop of Durham in November 1850. Brougham loved to frighten the Tories by brandishing Paley's principle and that of the absolute sovereignty of a parliamentary majority before their apprehensive eyes;⁶² but on one important occasion, after much of this sort of thing, 'he disclaimed the doctrine; at all events that was not the moment to moot it'; and he admitted that it would be a misfortune if ever the Roman Catholic religion became established in Ireland. 'Liberty would not be safe, and, in his opinion, as a Protestant, religion, in such a case, would be no better off than liberty'.⁶³

Liberty, Representation, and Protestantism could not be discussed in the early nineteenth century without reference to the revolution of 1688–9, which was generally understood as having set the constitution in church and state upon its present and perfect footing. Whig and Tory were never further apart than in their interpretations of that glorious event. 'Whatever kings or parliaments may think of their power', said Russell, 'they must more or less submit to be influenced by the spirit of the time in which they live.'⁶⁴ The times had been changing ever since the Reformation, which proved 'a perpetual source of enquiry and discussion; the minds of men had taken a start towards improvement, and nothing could stop their course'.⁶⁵ In this process of improvement the Revolution marked a notable advance, but there was

⁵⁹ Earl Fitzwilliam's outstanding quality, praised by Sydney Smith in a letter to Lady Holland after the Earl had been dismissed from his Lord Lieutenantcy in late 1819. *Letters*, i. 339.

⁶⁰ Letter to Howick, 13 March 1835. C. S. Parker, *Life and Letters of Graham* (1907), i. 240–1. ⁶¹ Letter to Holland, Nov. 1834. *Letters*, ii. 598.

⁶² As, e.g., on 26 March 1834. Hansard, 3rd ser., xxii. 665.

⁶³ 6 June 1834, *ibid.*, 3rd ser., xxiv. 304. With this may be put Palmerston's opinion of Popery as 'a bad political institution, unfavourable to morals, to industry, and to liberty', given to Lord John Russell, 22 Oct. 1843. *Later Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, ed. G. P. Gooch (1925), i. 67. ⁶⁴ 26 Feb. 1828. Hansard, n.s., xviii. 693.

⁶⁵ Russell, *Essay on the Constitution*, ch. 6.

nothing final and sacred about it. Lord Plunket maintained that if concession was subversive of the constitution, he would be the first to prevent it. But it was not subversive. It was perfectly consistent with the Revolution. He declared that 'a general system of misrepresentation prevailed as to the true principles which placed the present royal family of this country on the throne', and complained that he heard it 'reiterated for the one-hundred-and-first time with the same zest as when it was first broached, that the glorious principle of the Revolution of 1688 was a principle of exclusion against the Catholic part of the community'. On the contrary he believed that the Revolution had only aimed at the permanent Protestantism of the *throne*; the principle of exclusion, 'the fruit of bad men and bad measures', was there before the Revolution, and was only retained because the Pretender was still a menace.⁶⁶

Earl Grey was equally concerned to read the Tories a lesson about the Revolution. He agreed that the constitution was fundamentally Protestant; but was it not also fundamentally free? 'In order to secure that freedom, our ancestors at the Revolution took the securities which they found already existing, and interwove them with others, in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement'. Some of those securities had been modified or destroyed (e.g. the prohibition of Crown office holders sitting in the Commons, the requiring Privy Councillors to sign their resolutions, and the Triennial Bill), yet no one complained that the constitution was subverted, or that the Parliament had exceeded its powers.⁶⁷ As for the Coronation Oath, Grey made a great effort (in the debate on the second reading of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill) to prove that it was not an exception to the constitutional rule of parliamentary sovereignty. This was what the Whigs had always maintained, behind whatever decent reticence: the confirmation of a promise made by the king to his people. The obligation of the promise ceased, and the oath was relaxed, when the people by the two Houses of Parliament declared that they did not, in a certain point, require the performance of it.⁶⁸

Thus did the Whigs affirm the sovereignty of 'the people' and 'the majesty of public opinion'.⁶⁹ There was no limit to what the people's representatives *could* do, though there was a very obvious limit to what expediency, caution, and popular prejudice might allow them to do. The Whigs' principles offered no sounder security than these for the institutions whose bringing up-to-date they undertook in the 'thirties.

⁶⁶ 19 Feb. 1829. *Hansard*, n.s., xx. 401–2. He suggested that the Protestant Brunswick Clubs (very popular at that time) should be renamed Titus Oates Clubs.

⁶⁷ 17 May 1819. *Ibid.*, xl. 414 ff.

⁶⁸ 4 April 1829. *Ibid.*, n.s., xxi. 325–31.

⁶⁹ By 'the people' they meant, of course, mainly the middle-classes. By public opinion Cockburn meant '—That true representative on earth of Omnipotence—omnificent, just, instinctive, resistless, the Asylum of all right, the expositor of all wrong—established not in newspapers and pamphlets but on the very seat of Government.' Letter to Sir Thomas Dick-Lauder, 30 Dec. 1830. *Some Letters of Lord Cockburn . . .*, ed. Harry A. Cockburn (1932), p. 29.

Their principles were immeasurably more dangerous than their practice for they were themselves, politically, a national institution, and their own sense of political possibility combined with all the traditionalism and 'deference' of English society to prevent their principles running away with them. ('I think the present Ministry are doing better for us than the last', wrote one worried clergyman early in 1831, '—though perhaps in spite of their own principles; as Whigs are always doing, when in power.'⁷⁰) And their principles were such that the Tories of their time, happily enabled (by nearly half a century of staved-off revolution and of 'Whigs not getting into place') to picture themselves as high-principled protectors of the nation's virtue, could never see that they were principles at all. So much that the Whigs proposed to do involved tinkering with institutions that the Tories had come to regard as principles embodied, that they naturally accused the Whigs of following mere expediency, and cynically keeping themselves in place by doing so. This was unjust and arrogant, but it was typical of what Whigs so often suffered at Tory hands, and one can see why Tories said it. For the Whigs had to pay the penalty that sublunary politics seem always to exact from the promoters of change. Some consequences of change there were bound to be which their conservative opponents had correctly foretold, and which they themselves might in the event deplore. Church establishments had no immunity from the operations of this natural law. They could not be in every way as safe in Whig hands as Whigs apparently liked to think; certainly they had to become different things from the privileged, protected, and not absolutely tolerant establishments of time immemorial, that came to look increasingly unfashionable in the dawn of modern liberalism and democracy. Fools they often were who tried to hold up change, and, in their ideas on church and state, bigots too; but there was some truth—and not a little tragedy—in the comment wrung from Lord Melbourne when the great age of Grey and Holland was coming to an end: 'The worst of it is, that the fools were in the right.'⁷¹

⁷⁰ F. C. Massingberd to Edward Churton, 14 Jan. 1831. Massingberd Papers, 1/91, in the care of the Lincolnshire Archives Committee. I am indebted to the Committee and to Miss Dorothy Massingberd for permission to use them.

⁷¹ Sanders, p. 99. The comment is possibly apocryphal, but it is perfectly in character.

ANTIPODEAN HISTORY

i

R. M. HARTWELL and D. K. FIELDHOUSE

Nuffield College, Oxford

Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford

UNTIL QUITE RECENTLY the histories of Australia and New Zealand were largely written in a fashion that would not be acceptable to the modern historian. The early generations of settlers and observers—Wentworth, Lang, West, Manning, Thompson and Fox, and others—often gave vivid accounts of experiences and attitudes in books that are now regarded as primary sources. These were followed, towards the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, by the well-known, essentially descriptive and anecdotal histories of writers like Rusden, Scott and Shann for Australia, and Reeves, Rusden, Saunders and Hight and Bamford for New Zealand. The latter volumes had great virtues, especially narrative and literary, but they did not use modern techniques and standards of criticism, and each created or repeated myths that have since passed into the text-books (and, indeed, into the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. iii). The reassessment, although inevitable, was delayed longer in the antipodes than, for example, in Canada, both because of the decline of the amateur historian (who though slower in 'modernizing' his history would certainly have done so, as indeed M. H. Ellis of Australia has proved brilliantly), and also because the new professional historians of the universities were either British or British trained, and not interested in teaching or researching in Australian history, except on such topics as exploration. This situation has changed dramatically since 1930: history departments have expanded, especially in Australia, and antipodean history has become a major part of undergraduate courses and the almost exclusive preoccupation of the post-graduate student, a rapidly increasing tribe. And so has emerged a numerous, active, aggressive, productive, and nationalistic group of young historians, most of them under forty, preoccupied with their own history. Add to this a successful journal of severe scholarly standards—*Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*—and one active university press in Melbourne—and the present flow of books can be explained. The quality, though varied, is generally high, with each year seeing the publication of at least one really important work and several reputable pieces of scholarship. 1958–9 are no exception, and here reviewed are—for New Zealand—a general history, a local history, and two detailed studies of the colony's early years; and

for Australia three biographical studies (an explorer, an entrepreneur-statesman-explorer, and an educationalist-civil servant), the history of a hospital, four books of documents (on a city, on internal exploration, and two on a pastoral estate during the 1840s), and an important study of Australian federalism.

Of the New Zealand books, Dr. Miller's¹ is a good example of the present critical trend, for he is mainly concerned to examine the truth of the story that Wakefield's theories of colonization were successfully put into practice in the settlement of Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth, showing that in three main aspects the accepted accounts are wrong. First, he argues that the conditions of Maori life in New Zealand in the 1830s were so complex and dangerous that it would have been quite impossible, in the North Island at least, to carry out a scheme of settlement of large numbers that depended on the acquisition of vast blocks of good Maori land by voluntary purchase. In fact, most of the good land was occupied and in no sense 'waste'; most Maoris had no desire to sell; and, even if the occupants did choose to sell, the problem of deciding whether they were the true owners was practically insuperable. The result could only be racial friction and the danger of war. Second, Dr. Miller suggests that the New Zealand Company, whatever the value of the theoretical concepts it claimed to embody, diluted its idealism with so much personal greed, ambition and chicanery that it has no right to the eulogies it has received for its intentions and achievements. And finally he shows convincingly that the character of the eventual settlements owed infinitely more to what the colonists themselves did of their own initiative than to all the arrangements made for them by the Company. In place of nucleated and socially stratified agricultural settlements, there developed a dispersed, egalitarian and pastoral society, bearing little resemblance to the blueprint conceived by Wakefield. While making some allowance for the influence of the philo-Maori school, it seems difficult to deny the general truth of Dr. Miller's analysis.

The first volume of what is to be a three-volume history of the province of Canterbury,² which takes the story to 1854, is naturally more sober than Dr. Miller's book. Yet it is quite as ready to reassess old legends. The writers of the two main sections, Mr. Straubel and Professor Webb, have given a clear and very readable account, based on sound detailed scholarship, from the earliest known facts to the end of the Canterbury Association. One of the most interesting features of this volume is therefore that it enables one to compare Canterbury with the Cook Strait settlements, and to decide whether, in Canterbury at least, the Wakefield theory was put successfully into practice. Three main conclusions stand out. First, that Canterbury approximated far more

¹ EARLY VICTORIAN NEW ZEALAND, 1839-52. By John Miller. Oxford University Press. 1958. 217 pp. 30s.

² A HISTORY OF CANTERBURY. Volume i: To 1854. Edited by James Hight and C. R. Straubel. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs. 1957. 287 pp. 22s. 6d.

closely to the land vacant for settlement required by the theory, because of the practically complete extinction of Maori rights to the land before the settlers arrived. Second, it is also clear that the Canterbury Association and its main agent, Godley, did a far better job in advance planning than the Company and Colonel Wakefield had done farther north. The settlers of 1850 found so much done for them that, although problems remained plentiful, it can be said that Canterbury did begin as a planned settlement. Finally, however, Professor Webb shows that Wakefield's conception of the form the new society would take was no more realized here than anywhere else in Australasia. On the most vital question, although ample land was available, it could never be used for the capitalist agriculture that the doctrine prescribed. Sheep, not corn, saved the settlement. Again, although Canterbury did in fact attract and keep a number of colonists of the upper-middle class—thus fulfilling the concept of the balanced society—Professor Webb concludes that 'colonists of this type were successful in the settlement in spite of Wakefield's planning rather than because of it. Extensive pastoralism, not the sufficient price, gave Canterbury its landed gentry'. Nor did the religious aspect of the Association's plans have much more success. For reasons which are made quite clear, the settlement emerged as a secular one, with the Anglican church one among a number of competing denominations. In sum, the achievement of the Association was simply to have induced a number of people to settle in a suitable but distant place, and to have eased the difficulties of the initial settlement. This was no mean achievement, but it can hardly be said to have embodied fully the principles of the art of colonization.

The early history of New Zealand, and especially the process of events leading to its annexation in 1840, is normally interpreted largely in terms of British policy and interests. Professor Tapp considers that this approach underestimates the influence of New South Wales, and that, until about 1839, New Zealand was of concern to her rather than to Great Britain.³ There is clearly much truth in such an approach, and it is to be regretted that Professor Tapp did not concentrate his attention more completely on this one theme. In those chapters—v and vi in particular—in which he does so, the book comes to life, and throws useful light on both Busby and Gipps. But much of the rest is merely a recapitulation of well-known material on traders, whalers, sealers and missionaries, without a specifically Australian slant. It must also be said that the prose style is very difficult to read. In fact, the book would appear distinctively Victorian in tone if the standards of printing and production were not so high and the footnotes less numerous.

By contrast, Miss Appleton's book⁴ has no pretensions to originality or serious scholarship. It is a straightforward summary of what has been

³ EARLY NEW ZEALAND: A DEPENDENCY OF NEW SOUTH WALES, 1788-1841. By E. J. Tapp. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1959. xi + 192 pp. 35s.

⁴ THEY CAME TO NEW ZEALAND. By Marjorie Appleton. London: Methuen. 1958. 318 pp. 30s.

published on the background to New Zealand history before 1840, with the emphasis on geography, botany and anthropology. Although it is no doubt vulnerable to experts in these fields, this background material, together with the account of exploration and the early missions, seems reasonably competent. When however we come to the period covered by Dr. Miller's book, the disadvantages of using only discredited secondary sources becomes apparent. All the legends from the older histories are faithfully retailed as matters of fact: the famous post-chaise dash by Wakefield to catch the *Tory* in 1839; the claim that the New Zealand Company forced the Colonial Office to annex New Zealand; the alleged smoothness of Col. Wakefield's land purchases; and, finally, the 'race' against the French for Akaroa. Clearly this book is not an historical revision. Nevertheless, it may have its uses as a convenient account of prehistory in New Zealand for those not concerned to be critical.

The Australian contributions are more varied and more difficult to assess. Easiest is Mrs. M. S. Webster's *John McDouall Stuart*,⁵ a labour of love, a well-written and sympathetic account of Stuart's Australian career, with very detailed and fascinating accounts of his explorations. Stuart came from Scotland in 1839 to South Australia, where he stayed twenty-five years, of which three full years were spent in exploration. As an explorer Stuart served his apprenticeship under Sturt in 1844–6, and subsequently led several expeditions himself in the years 1858 to 1862, culminating in the famous trans-continental trek of 1862, when he crossed the continent from south to north, and south again (for the first time), thus giving South Australia 'another sea-frontage'. Stuart's ability as an explorer lay in his qualities of leadership, in his surveying ability, and in his innovations in the preparation and conduct of expeditions. 'His journeys were more in the nature of raids; detailed examination was limited by the need for mobility. The distances he covered could not have been achieved by the older methods in the terrain he encountered; only the light equipment he used made his speed possible, and only speed enabled him to cover such distances in such country.' Stuart was ill-rewarded for his efforts, and died prematurely from poor health caused by the sustained hardships of desert exploration. The only quick result of his journeying was the overland telegraph, which had great commercial importance, linking Australia to the European market in hours instead of in weeks. His reputation suffered however, as Mrs. Webster points out, with the fate of the Northern Territory, a neglected Australian asset until the twentieth century. He was nevertheless one of the most able and most successful of Australian explorers, and Mrs. Webster's biography clearly shows how and why.

Dr. Bolton's *Alexander Forrest*⁶ is the biography of an Australian who

⁵ JOHN McDouall STUART. By Mona Stuart Webster. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1959. 319 pp. 42s.

⁶ ALEXANDER FOREST: HIS LIFE AND TIMES. By G. C. Bolton. Melbourne University Press in association with the University of Western Australia Press: C.U.P. 1958. 196 pp. 21s.

was an important explorer, a minor politician (in a colony that even in 1890 had only 46,000 inhabitants), and a major entrepreneur in the pastoral industry. But, although the exploring and political activities of Forest are here well recorded, his more important entrepreneurial activities are only vaguely analysed, with practically no figures, and in a fashion that often rouses suspicions of sharp practice, an impression that should have been substantiated or dispelled. Alexander, brother of the famous Lord Forest, was the latter's second-in-command in both exploration and politics, and as such, loyal and without envy. In the comic-opera political society of pre-self-government Western Australia, Alexander played a dignified and successful rôle; a society in which 'the Chief Justice, who possessed a fine bass voice, and the former Attorney-General, a violinist of some repute, refused to appear in a performance of Handel's *Messiah*, because it would be under vice-regal patronage.' As mayor of Perth, Forest pushed ahead with development; as an entrepreneur, he was particularly responsible for the opening up of Kimberley and of the great southern wheat-lands—two major achievements in the economic development of Western Australia. Political philosophy was not as clear to him as the profit motive, and as a liberal nationalist (with a genuine interest in the small farmer) his attitude to the key problems of protection and federalism were obviously much influenced by his business interests as a pastoralist cattle-grower. The general interest of this biography is undoubtedly in the picture it gives of the working of Lord Forest's political machine, and in demonstrating the rôle in West Australian development in the third quarter of the century, as previously in the eastern states, of the pioneer-pastoralist. It is a pity Dr. Bolton did not make much more of this latter theme.

The justification for publishing A. G. Austin's *George William Rusden*⁷ is not obvious: the book is concerned only with a short period of Rusden's long career as a public servant and is devoted mainly to an account of his itineraries to form 'national schools' in 1849, with supplementary chapters on his pamphlet on *National Education* (1853), and his rôle as Commissioner for Education in Victoria from 1854 to 1862. The great controversy in the early history of education in Australia was on secularism, and on this problem the book gives little information. It may be amusing to know that 'in almost continuous rain, dosing himself successively with calomel, epsom salts, laudanum and castor oil, Rusden rode back and forth through Warrenbayne, Violet Town, Euroa, Avenel and Seymour', but beyond demonstrating Rusden's hypochondria, it enlightens as little as does the learned analysis of the background (Bacon, Arnold, etc.) of Rusden's educational theories. A history of Australian education is certainly needed, but this volume contributes little.

K. S. Inglis's history of the Royal Melbourne Hospital, *Hospital and*

⁷ GEORGE WILLIAM RUSDEN AND NATIONAL EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA, 1849-1862. By A. G. Austin. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1958. 148 pp. 27s. 6d.

Community,⁸ is an excellent study in social history. As the author clearly demonstrates, the history of a particular hospital has a great general interest, since hospital development touches so many problems of modern history: in particular, the development of the welfare state and the eclipse of voluntarism, the growth of the professions, and the administrative difficulties of large-scale institutions. On the history of medicine it is interesting to discover that the controversy about infection was just as bitter in Melbourne as in Britain, with the slow growth of antiseptic and aseptic methods, even with Lister-trained doctors and convincing mortality statistics. What is significant, in spite of generalizations about a cultural-lag, is that improved conditions in Melbourne followed quickly the latest British developments, whether in hospital architecture, in medicine, or in the training of nurses. The development from a small and ill-equipped hospital into a great modern public hospital, with its teaching and research centres, is an inspiring story, well told.

J. Grant and G. Serle, in *The Melbourne Scene, 1803-1956*,⁹ have produced a most attractive volume, but it is not clear for whom its charms are intended. As a pious homage to their home city, it is admirable; but it is neither a systematic history of Melbourne, nor a set of documents that could form the basis of a university course in local history. Presumably it is for Melburners who are interested in their own history. As such, it consists of nearly 200 quotations arranged in five chronological sections, prefaced by introductions which together constitute a short history of the city. The general attractiveness of the book is enhanced by excellent photographs and illustrations. The interest of Melbourne lies particularly in its fifty years as Australia's premier city—in population, wealth and culture—between 1850 and 1900; when 'Art, the drama, music, literature, journalism, wit, oratory, all found ready appreciation. The life and vivacity of the place were astonishing' (H. M. Hyndman). The twentieth century, however, has seen the re-establishment of Sydney as first city, so that a visit to modern Melbourne creates the impression—particularly in architecture—that it is still a Victorian or Edwardian city.

The third and fourth volumes of the *Clyde Company Papers*,¹⁰ edited by P. L. Brown, cover the years 1841 to 1850, and are as majestic in presentation and as extensive in material as the earlier volumes. When completed, this series will be unique in Australian history as the only detailed printed source books of a pastoral estate in those critical years when the wool industry was being established, revealing not only the vicissitudes of sheep-farming, but also the social life of the squatters, and

⁸ HOSPITAL AND COMMUNITY. A HISTORY OF THE ROYAL MELBOURNE HOSPITAL. By K. S. Inglis. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1958. 226 pp. 30s.

⁹ THE MELBOURNE SCENE, 1803-1956. Edited by James Grant and Geoffrey Serle. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1958. xviii + 308 pp. 30s.

¹⁰ CLYDE COMPANY PAPERS. Volume iii: 1841-45. Volume iv: 1846-50. Edited by P. L. Brown. Oxford University Press. 1958, 1959. xxvii + 669, xviii + 620 pp. 45s. each.

the politics of colonial society. The particular interest of volume three (1841–5) is that it covers the great depression of the 'forties, from which the Clyde Company emerged safely when so many other pastoral estates went bankrupt, and also the period when the squatters were pre-occupied with the problem of securing permanent tenure of their land, hitherto held on lease. The Russells were lucky to secure an important freehold in 1842—of their homestead and of five miles of river frontage—and this factor, along with good management that could be based on the long-term development of the property (for example, fencing at a time when enclosing was rare) certainly assisted them to ride the depression, and, indeed, to return dividends after 1841. George Russell's regular reports to William Cross of the station accounts are both an index of colonial trade conditions and a revealing account of successful estate management. Volume four covers the years 1846 to 1850—after the depression and before gold—described by Rolf Boldrewood as 'the happiest of the pastoral period'. Certainly for the Clyde Company they were, 1847 excepted, years of increasing prosperity: profits went up from £5743 to £12,096; wool exports (which fluctuated between 100 and 200 bales yearly before 1846) were 731 bales in 1850, when the number of sheep shorn exceeded 70,000 (11,000 in 1840) and the secure freehold was over 7000 acres. Russell reckoned on 31 December 1850 that the Company's investment in Port Philip was just on £60,000; i.e. the yield that year (with current net receipts of £16,000; and colonial expenses of £4000) was 20 per cent. No wonder he had already written that 'there is no investment of capital likely to yield a more certain or a larger return than that invested in Sheep and Runs'. An important addition to this volume is a long appendix of station statistics, including detailed wages series for all types of rural labour. The great pleasure and value of both these volumes, however, is their comprehensiveness—the massive combination of business and private letters and memoranda, including much trivia, that combine to give a full account of life, richly textured and satisfying, so that in the end the reader *knows* the colonists and their problems. But although the documents do 'speak for themselves', the introductions and yearly notes could have been much more useful. The editing of the documents, however, is admirable.

Kathleen Fitzpatrick's *Australian Explorers*¹¹ consists of excerpts from the writings of Australian explorers, with a long introduction which excellently summarizes inland exploration, as well as the characters and literary skills of the explorers. Australia is a very large country—about the same size as the United States of America—and being largely desert or near-desert, exploration was possible only by heroic feats of effort, planning and luck. The usual motive (and hence the financial backing) was to search for water or pastoral land, and sheep followed quickly in

¹¹ AUSTRALIAN EXPLORERS. A SELECTION FROM THEIR WRITINGS WITH AN INTRODUCTION. Edited by Kathleen Fitzpatrick. Oxford University Press (The World's Classics). 1958. xiii + 503 pp. gs. 6d.

the tracks of the early explorers, whose journeys, up to 1850, fell mainly in the area of ten-inch rainfall. The exploration of the second half of the century merely filled in the map, and then mainly with information of uninhabitable land. For 'foreigners' the interest in this volume will certainly be mainly in the many and accurate descriptions of the Australian countryside; for Australians, the book will merely confirm an abiding interest in the explorers (rather than in the land they traversed) because they have added a little drama to the otherwise drab history of Australian economic and social success.

It was not until 1900 that the Australian colonies saw fit to combine into the Commonwealth—and the history of the motives, politics and pressures of that important event has not yet been told in full detail. There was, however, an earlier attempt to federate—between 1846 and 1847—when the main colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Victoria and South Australia were getting self-government, and consequently, constitutions. Professor Ward, in his *Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies 1846–1857*,¹² exhaustively covers this first period, and, but for the fact that this book is as much concerned with self-government, one might argue that such scholarly effort (nearly 500 closely argued pages) on a movement for federation that *at no time* had any substantial backing, either in England or Australia, was hardly worth the effort. The real value of Professor Ward's book, however, is twofold. Firstly, it is a study of emerging self-governing colonies, with new and ambitious politicians, inexperienced and nationalistic, facing new problems. Secondly, it is a revealing picture of Grey at work on a problem where he was doctrinaire, basing his policy on theories rather than on colonial advice, and autocratic, being willing to ignore colonial advice even when he noted it. While Grey was in office, the idea (rather than the possibility) of federalism was kept alive; with Grey out of office, the idea died naturally. It was too much to expect that the colonial politicians, already fully occupied with the problem of state-constitution writing, could also have worked out, at the same time, a federal constitution (a more difficult problem, as the negotiations of the 'eighties and 'nineties showed). The colonists could not in the 1850s see any positive gain from federation; they were, therefore, indifferent or hostile to the idea. Indeed, they felt and acted as *Australians* only on the issue of transportation, and when transportation was abolished their unity disappeared. Add to this factor the intensity of colonial localism (for example in Victoria, recently separated from New South Wales), and the complete lack of a colonial politician with the vision or imagination to see the ultimate real benefits of federalism—and Grey's efforts were foredoomed to failure. As Professor Ward writes: 'What was missing in the colonies was some agency—like Grey's powerful belief in free trade, or

¹² EARL GREY AND THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES, 1846–1857. A STUDY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND SELF-INTEREST. By John M. Ward. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1958. 496 pp. 63s.

Duffy's nationalism, or the sudden crises postulated by Denison—that might have made federalism an attractive and compelling idea.' This important book, which draws extensively on archival material in both Britain and Australia, must be added to Melbourne's *Early Constitutional Developments in Australia* as necessary reading for anyone interested in Australian politics of the self-government era.

ii

F. L. W. WOOD
Victoria University, Wellington

IN 1930 J. B. CONDLIFFE wrote a book which was based on hard work, tough arguing, and on intimate personal acquaintance with New Zealand life. *New Zealand in the Making* was a courageous, individual and illuminating book which made a bold contribution to filling the gaps in New Zealand historiography and rethought conventional clichés in terms which were shrewd and humane, if at times provocative. The study of New Zealand history was firmly directed away from sentiment and towards an appreciation of those powerful economic forces which control peoples' destinies, but are apt to be concealed by verbiage. Despite errors of detail and despite the book's somewhat disjointed construction—Condliffe had left New Zealand for good before it appeared—it has been essential reading for students of New Zealand affairs for nearly thirty years. Since it has long been out of print, this two-volume revised edition,¹ which brings it up to date, must be warmly welcomed. Two points must, however, be borne in mind. In the first place, the purely historical material has been reprinted with a minimum of revision, apart from references to more recent publications, though in the meantime historical research has developed from an amateur pastime into a professional occupation, and extensive new material has been made available. The pioneering insights of 1930 are useful to have in hand in 1960, but through their very success in a previous generation they have exhausted some of their excitement. In the second place, the discussion of events since 1928 is no longer illuminated by intimate personal understanding. It represents an elder statesman's analysis of statistical information (salted with some benevolent advice), but has lost track of some of the more subtle and significant changes in New

¹ NEW ZEALAND IN THE MAKING. By J. B. Condliffe. 2nd ed. London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 316 pp. 30s.

THE WELFARE STATE IN NEW ZEALAND. By J. B. Condliffe. London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 396 pp. 35s.

Zealand life during the past twenty-five years. Nevertheless these two books will long remain a valuable tool of trade for New Zealand historians and economists, to be ploughed through, plundered, corrected, quoted and built upon by generations of students.

The opening phases of European penetration in New Zealand form the subject of a pleasantly written essay by Mr. Harrison M. Wright, based on a careful study of the main sources.² He has related what he has found to some American work on 'acculturation'. His understanding of the New Zealand background is at times weak, but he has shrewdly and successfully questioned some accepted clichés about Maori reactions. For a fresh and lively viewpoint, however, and for the impact of recent research, one must turn to Keith Sinclair.³ He has been known for a decade for indefatigable research work, a forthright style of writing and thinking, wide interests, and judgement which is well informed and slashingly independent. *The Origins of the Maori Wars* has something of the pioneering qualities—and occasional unevenness—of a first-rate Ph.D. thesis. His subject is central to the history of the New Zealand people, for it tells in scholarly detail the story of the prolonged crisis during which the relationships between European colonists, Maoris, and the British government were forcibly adjusted to something like an equilibrium. Dr. Sinclair expressly denies that he is writing a general history of New Zealand. Nevertheless, his deep probing of the causes and character of the Maori wars leaves untouched little that was essential in the first quarter century of New Zealand settlement. And it throws a flood of light on the factors which have influenced the subsequent development of race relations.

In a sense the clash was inevitable. Despite Maori intelligence and adaptability, there was a plain collision of interests between an increasing white population, hungry for land as the source of prosperity, and the Maori way of life. Admittedly there was a higher vision among certain Englishmen—including some colonists. It is just theoretically conceivable that a different solution might have been found on the basis of humanitarianism and peaceful amalgamation. In realistic fact, the tide was flowing too strongly. Economic forces—and human nature—were uncontrollable even by a strongly established humanitarianism, especially in a period of *laissez faire* liberalism and weak central government. The efforts for peace were not negligible; but they were foredoomed to eventual failure.

All this is extremely well analysed. The core of the book is a close examination of the events leading to the disastrous Waitara purchase. It is in one sense a sorry tale, for what happened is in such glaring contrast with the high—though admittedly doctrinaire—ideals which were genuinely associated with British colonization. Dr. Sinclair's merciless

² NEW ZEALAND, 1769-1840: EARLY YEARS OF WESTERN CONTACT. By Harrison M. Wright. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1960. x + 225 pp. 38s.

³ THE ORIGINS OF THE MAORI WARS. By K. Sinclair. N.Z. University Press: C.U.P. 1958. xiii + 297 pp. 30s.

array of well-ordered facts leaves little doubt that broadly speaking it was the government which finally took the initiative in the interests of the settlers, and that it paid little regard to the principles either of British or of Maori morals. He is, however, too good a historian to force the issue too logically. Very likely that enigmatic expert Donald McLean knew what he was doing, while the Taranaki settlers saw part of the truth, and saw it devastatingly clearly. Governor Gore-Browne, however, like very many other well-meaning persons, was fumbling for a decision among half-understood facts, in a situation of high tension. All this is well worked out by Dr. Sinclair, and its significance for the understanding of British policies in general and race relations in New Zealand in particular is shown to be great. The subsequent material on the extension of the war into the Waikato, though good as far as it goes, has not been as fully investigated.

If *The Origins of the Maori Wars* is a book for the expert, which settles some questions and points the way to further research, Dr. Sinclair's Pelican *History of New Zealand*⁴ is an outstanding general survey. Such a survey has not been seriously attempted since Condliffe wrote in 1930, since when New Zealand has passed through the major crises of depression and war, and knowledge of New Zealand history has been enriched by the flow of increasingly productive research. Dr. Sinclair has a wide knowledge of New Zealand literature and more anthropological insight than most New Zealand historians; and his personal researches give him a firm grasp of the period of Reeves and Seddon as well as of the periods of colonial settlement and of Maori wars. His treatment of New Zealand as a bi-racial community is correspondingly illuminating, and he has suggestive things to say about the impact on New Zealand of the earlier settlement in Australia. The book is well and stimulatingly written, but its outstanding feature is the ring of personal sincerity and individual judgement. Dr. Sinclair does not believe in the guarded statement, the smooth innocuous semi-cliché. When writing straight history he is forthright; and as he approaches modern times the book becomes compellingly personal. It is an account of 'the New Zealand experiment' in social security and egalitarianism by one who does not spare criticism, but who frankly believes that that experiment was, on the balance, richly worth while.

The book is vigorously controversial; and, indeed, Dr. Sinclair's work never falls still-born amid non-committal praise. It is now the necessary starting point for the study of New Zealand history as was (in his day) Reeves's *Long White Cloud*, with which it ranks in literary quality as well as in viewpoint.

⁴ A HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND. By K. Sinclair. Penguin Books. 1959. 320 pp. 3s. 6d.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

HISTORY AND THE HOMERIC ILIAD. By D. L. Page. University of California Press: Cambridge University Press. 1959. 350 pp. 6s.

This is a delightful book. Professor Page has preserved the flash and wit of the spoken word in his text of the Sather Lectures, and a great mass of scholarly documentation is relegated to the notes which make up half the book. His theme is one of perennial interest. It inspired the writings of H. M. Chadwick, Walter Leaf, T. W. Allen, Gilbert Murray, Martin Nilsson and many others, and it is now enlarged and developed by the results of archæological discovery and by the decipherment of the Linear B documents. We are grateful for this reassessment of the epic scene which combines a thorough control of the intricate evidence with a finely balanced judgement.

The first chapter plunges boldly into the tongue-twisting names which have emerged from Hittite documents of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and the confident conclusion is reached that the men of *Ahhijawā* were 'Achæan' Greeks resident during those centuries in Rhodes. The identification with the Achæans is indeed as certain as any identification can be which involves the unknown pronunciations of proper names in Hittite and Mycenæan Greek. It is less easy to suppose that *Ahhijawā* was then the name of Rhodes; for the island, having been occupied by Minoans c. 1600 B.C., and lying close to the mainland, is likely to have had a well-established pre-Achæan name, and it offered less room than the Greek mainland for supporting 'hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Anatolian subjects of the Hittite King'. The second chapter gives a graphic account of Troy's history as revealed by the excavations of Schliemann, Dörpfeld and Blegen, and discusses such problems as the origin of grey Minyan ware and the horse which first appeared at Troy with the foundation of the Sixth City. Some antecedents for the Trojan War of epic saga are found in the decline of Hittite power and the ensuing rivalry between the League of Assuwa and the Achæans.

The last three chapters are the most exciting, because they deal with the Iliad in its historical setting. Professor Page's conclusion that the Achæan and Trojan Catalogues are historical documents of the late Mycenæan period seems to the reviewer to be proved up to the hilt; moreover, it does not depend at all upon the interpretation of the Linear B documents, 'the interests' of which, as he remarks, 'seldom if ever overlap those of the Homeric Catalogue'. While accepting the decipherment of Linear B script, Professor Page warns us against excessive speculation and guesswork concerning such matters as Mycenæan land tenure and social organization, and he concentrates on the bureaucratic system and the Greek vocabulary which the tablets have revealed. It is clear that the Mycenæan clerks who wrote in Linear B script and the minstrels of epic saga differed in their outlook and in their vocabulary. The development of the epic vocabulary or rather of the epic formulas is a thrilling topic in Professor Page's hands; he carries its

origins back into the Mycenæan period almost as far as the archaeologists have carried such objects as the tower-shield of Ajax. The book ends with an Appendix on multiple authorship in the Iliad which is no less rich in ideas and provocative of thought than the stimulating lectures which were delivered at Berkeley.

Clifton College

N. G. L. HAMMOND

THE ANCIENT MARINERS (London: Gollancz, 1959. xx + 286 pp. illus. 21s.) by Lionel Casson is an attractive and useful book by a scholar who is also an experienced amateur sailor; it is also good value for the price, in the best tradition of the house of Gollancz. It covers the whole field of maritime trade and warfare from the beginnings of ship-building in Egypt to the Roman Empire, closing with a brief glance at Byzantium. Mr. Casson uses all the available evidence, from Egyptian literature and Homer to the *Acts of the Apostles* and Lucian, and makes good use of Greco-Roman inscriptions and papyri; and his bibliographical notes provide valuable references both to the scattered sources and to modern literature, from Torr (1895) to articles in periodicals down to 1958. There are not a few slips in references to the historical background, some of which may make the purist shudder, and wonder if there is a failure to inculcate accuracy in details in American schools. A teacher of classics ought not to say, even in passing, that Achilles quarrelled with Agamemnon 'at the very outset', or to speak of 'an Arab sheikh' in Algeria over 800 years before Muhammad, or, for that matter, to let pass the misprint 'besiege'. But these matters rarely if ever affect the main theme, though they are a bad example to students, and the book, with its excellent illustrations and valuable references to the periodical literature, should be found useful by scholars as well as entertaining by the general reader.

University of Glasgow

A. R. BURN

A HISTORY OF GREECE TO 322 B.C. By N. G. L. Hammond. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xxiv + 689 pp. 35s.

This book has been awaited with lively interest. Its author, the Headmaster of Clifton College, is well known for his closely argued, if sometimes unorthodox and provocative articles, in which a thorough acquaintance with the ancient sources is balanced by an enviable familiarity with the remoter parts of Greece and with the Modern Greek language. The same qualities appear in this general history, which is, however, surprisingly traditional in its conception and execution. For instance it ends at 322, ignoring the Hellenistic age completely (despite the new perspectives opened up by Tarn); and the main emphasis is still firmly laid on political and military events. A comparison with De Sanctis's *Storia dei Greci* on the one hand or Bengtson's *Griechische Geschichte* on the other will reveal how closely it is linked with the current teaching requirements of English schools and universities. It is in fact a new Bury; and as it is likely to be bought and read as an alternative to Bury its special characteristics merit careful appraisal.

The most noteworthy feature is the absence of all modern references. Hammond quotes only ancient sources and (reasonably enough) his own articles where these contain the detailed defence of positions taken up; where

the evidence is archæological, he mentions the publication of the relevant site. One sees why. Readers are to be encouraged to cut through the growing tangle of 'literature' and get back to the sources; and under the guidance of a teacher like Hammond himself there could be nothing better. Unfortunately not every reader will have such a guide; and it is doubtful if alone the book will provide that 'proper apparatus for further study' to which the dust-cover refers. Much of our knowledge of Greek history depends on secondary sources, often fragmentary and late; their evaluation is a matter for the experienced scholar, and it must frequently happen that scholars disagree. Hammond in fact gives a great deal of detail which must necessarily rest on minor sources, but throughout he asks us to take his assessment of them on trust and without discussion. Although obviously a book on this scale cannot run to long excursions on *Quellenforschung*, it would often have been possible to state briefly the points at issue in a controversial passage and to indicate where further recent discussion can be found (as Bury does). Without such help a schoolboy or undergraduate has no way of distinguishing between what is reasonably certain and what is still hypothetical, and he is encouraged to treat what the textbook contains as an *ex cathedra* statement; and the scholar loses that extra dimension which is essential to historical research—I mean the history of the problems themselves, and the indication given by a good selective bibliography of the gradual approach to their solution by way of discussion and polemic.

This lack matters more in some parts than others. It appears even in periods like the Peloponnesian War, where the sources are relatively straightforward, but it is obviously more serious for those which have no contemporary historians and depend more on ingenuity in interpreting later evidence. On p. 23 Hammond warns the reader that his account of early Greek history is based on a greater credence in the traditional stories than many of his colleagues would approve; but anyone who does not constantly bear this warning in mind may well accept as fact stories which would be generally disbelieved. For instance Hammond accepts without question a date before the Trojan War for the synoecism of Athens (by Theseus), and on the basis of this he draws a contrast between the Dorian tribal communities which broke up and reformed as close-knit *poleis* and the Attic community which remained loosely tribal till the sixth century. But surely we should be told that, quite apart from Eleusis and the Marathonian tetrapolis, evidence exists which suggests to many scholars that the synoecism of Attica was not completed till the eighth century.

There are other similar examples. The statement in *Ath. Pol.* fg. 3 that pre-Cleisthenic Athens had twelve phratries also known as trittyes is accepted here without a query; most scholars would qualify it. The kings of Sparta and Argos, we learn, were Heracleidæ and so Achæans; does Hammond then believe that these dynasties were literally descended from Heracles? The account of the outbreak of the Ionian Revolt closely follows Herodotus; the economic events in Ionia which are generally thought to be relevant are mentioned elsewhere and there is no cross-reference. Hammond quotes the covenant of Platæa; his method prevents his adding the caution that many scholars, including the editors of the *Athenian Tribute Lists*, regard it as a fourth-century forgery. When he attributes the historians Cadmus of Miletus, Pherecydes of Leros and Acusilaus to the years 546–466, he cannot add the warning

that Jacoby took Cadmus for a fake and made Pherecydes a Hellenistic writer.

In facing the perennial problem of the Greek historian—how to knit the cultural developments into a military and political narrative, how to find a unity in those periods free from the domination of a hegemonic power, and how to deal with the West Greeks—Hammond adopts the usual plan of separate chapters. For the West Greeks this is probably inevitable: since ancient times *Sikelika* and *Hellenika* have been mutually exclusive. But the brilliant chapter in which Hammond links up the social and economic background of the later fifth and early fourth centuries with political development, political theory, *stasis*, and the failure of the city-state to provide a continuing focus of devotion, leads one to regret that these important aspects of Greek history could not have been given more prominence throughout.

If this review has concentrated on aspects in which, in the reviewer's opinion, Hammond's self-imposed limitations have caused him some embarrassment, this should not be allowed to obscure the solid virtues of the history as a whole. Within the over-all plan the balance is good, the development clear; the style is easy and efficient, and throughout one has the justifiable feeling that one is in competent hands. Frequently, moreover, Hammond is very good indeed. In particular, his geographical knowledge repeatedly strengthens his historical analysis, as for instance on Marathon, where a footnote reveals that he himself 'walked fast from Athens to the mound at Marathon in 6 hours, and returned the same day to Athens in 7 hours'. His account of the Persian Wars goes forward in a single sweep to Eurymedon, which is excellent, for it lets us see Athens' incorporation of Scyros and Carystus and her suppression of the Naxian revolt in the war context. The events leading to the Peloponnesian War are also well done, and there are two fine summaries on the careers of Epaminondas and Alexander.

University of Liverpool

F. W. WALBANK

FROM THE GRACCHI TO NERO: A HISTORY OF ROME FROM 133 B.C. TO

A.D. 68. By H. H. Scullard. London: Methuen. 1959. xii + 450 pp. 25s. This book covers just that central period of Roman history which schoolboys and undergraduates mostly study. It has in abundance the virtues that one expects from Professor Scullard. It is written with quiet, unassuming competence; it is based on the latest and best information, and has the best kind of bibliographical notes—the kind that, instead of overwhelming the reader with matter he will never look at, choose for him at each point the one or two good, recent, easily accessible writings that enlarge or sum up the subject; it refuses to lure the unwary young into acceptance of dubious hypotheses by the *feux d'artifice* of fine writing; its judgement is shrewd and sound. It will, and should, become a standard work indeed.

There are, however, ways in which it might have been better. For the schoolboy its brevity may sometimes make difficulties. He is introduced to quite a number of technicalities without adequate elucidation, and either a good sixth-form master will supply the want or they will remain just parrot-phrases. For the undergraduate its most useful feature will be the notes, because the text is so very bald. Scullard is most stimulating when most detailed, as in his *Roman Politics, 220-150 B.C.* (Oxford, 1951); here his manner of presentation is too flat to convey the excitement and drama of a

great story, nor does he by way of compensation permit himself any excursions into the deeper layers of historical explanation. One detects here his publisher's insistence on getting a bit of everything in; but if Scullard could only have avoided, for example, having to tell the military history in detail, he would have had more room for analysis and illustration. He has had to 'do' the social and even the literary history as well, and the latter is a great mistake. There really is not room in a book on this scale for more than strings of names and cliché judgements. They should have been scrapped. After all, Roman history is still the great 'Lehrmeisterin politisch-geschichtlichen Denkens', but Scullard's analysis, though always cool and sane, all too often stops for lack of room just when it is getting interesting.

He brings out the nature of the Roman oligarchy (about which none knows more than he), but does not really explain what factors in Roman society enabled it to survive so tenaciously. He states the facts about Augustus' government with scrupulous care, but he talks all the time about the 'ultimate sanction', control of the army. How do you control the army unless its commanders will work with you? Surely we are back here to the essential nature of Augustus' 'principate'; not a system at all, but forty years of experiment, of careful groping for a way to organize political life that will carry the governing class with him. Scullard goes some way to bring this out, but not far enough. He makes, too, the usual bow that is made in elementary textbooks in the direction of Roman law. But if the law was Rome's supreme achievement (and it was), someone sometime must take it seriously, even at the elementary level, and explain what was great about it.

There are no proper maps; and there is quite a crop of minor misprints. Nevertheless this reviewer, for all his hard words, intends to recommend Dr. Scullard's book to a great many people in the next few years; and whether this detracts from, or adds to, his right to criticize, he does not feel quite sure!

St. John's College, Cambridge

J. A. CROOK

AUTHORS IN THE AGE OF PERICLES, by C. A. Robinson, Jr. (University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. 165 pp. \$2.75) is the first of the new 'Centres of Civilization' Series, in which works on eighteenth-dynasty Thebes, Alexandria, Augustan Rome, Constantinople and Chaucer's London are announced as in preparation. It is an attractive introduction to its subject. Extensive use is made of direct translations from the contemporary authors, an excellent plan, though some of the translations used have an old-fashioned air. The price will be found high this side the Atlantic, but one may hope that the book will presently find its way into one of the good American or British paper-backed series.

MEDIEVAL

THE NORTHERN SEAS. By A. R. Lewis. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xii + 498 pp. 72s.

Professor Lewis, of the University of Texas, has written a companion to his *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*. In it he surveys the story of shipping and commerce in Northern European waters A.D. 300-

1100. The first thing that must strike any reader of this book is its quite extraordinary inaccuracy. This is not just a matter of genuine misprints, which, as one would expect in a book issued by the Princeton University Press, are notably few. It is a much more serious defect and must be placed fairly and squarely on the author's shoulders. Mistakes of fact and date, misspellings of names and authors, errors in the titles of books and periodicals are so numerous as to defy any attempt to list them. I have noted over twenty between pp. 55 and 75 and approximately the same number between pp. 124 and 142. They include such elementary blunders as Galway for Galloway (p. 64), Ataulf for Euric (p. 68), Athelwulf for Ethelbert (p. 124), Provenence for Provence (p. 134), Redwine for Redwald (p. 137): Myres appears as Myers (*passim*), Coville as Colville (p. 55, with an error in the title of his book), Turville Petre as Turville Petrie (p. 74): T. Hodgkin, *Anglo-Saxons* (p. 59 twice) is presumably R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*: Erzinge should be Ezinge (p. 72), Odocer should be Odoacer (p. 78), Cyrmni should be Cymru (p. 136). Errors in the titles of books and periodicals include *Gesetze der Anglo Saxon*, *Proc. Royal Soc. Suffolk*, and *Journ. of Brit. Arch. Soc.* (all on two successive pages, pp. 126-7). Medeshampstede is not in Lincolnshire (p. 138), nor is Thetford near Roman Caistor (p. 140).

Not only has Professor Lewis failed to check the names, dates and titles in his references, he is quite undependable in his use of the sources. Take pp. 61-3 for example. On p. 61 we are told that 'about 450 . . . Cunnedda . . . drove the Irish out of Cornwall and South Wales', on p. 62 that 'Ambrosius Aurelianus . . . returned from Brittany' to assist the Britons, and on p. 63 that the *Groans of the Britons* 'still speaks of the Irish along with the Picts as dangerous invaders'. None of these statements has any basis in ancient authority. Cunedda's operations, of which no details are known, traditionally concerned north and central Wales, and their date, still subject to controversy, may well be nearer 400 than 450: there is nothing in Gildas to suggest that Ambrosius had anything to do with Brittany: and in the *Groans of the Britons* there is no mention either of the Irish or of the Picts.

These few specimens of Professor Lewis's methods do not inspire confidence in his judgement on broader issues. His notion (pp. 70-75) that the Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain can be divided sharply between a Saxon incursion (after 450) and an Anglian incursion (after 515) is contradicted not merely by such literary evidence as Bede's dating of the first Anglian arrivals in the reign of Theodosius II but by the whole weight of recent archaeological opinion on the continent as well as in this country, which sees the tribal elements in north Germany thoroughly mixed up before the movement overseas took shape in the first half of the fifth century. Moreover, as has been pointed out elsewhere,¹ Professor Lewis pays little attention to the many other factors besides trade which determined the distribution of goods and money in the lands bordering the northern seas in this period. Some of his arguments for trading contacts need to be modified in the light of contemporary evidence for such factors as plundering raids, war indemnities and annual tributes, the exchange of gifts between rulers and other diplomatic expenditure, ransoms, dowries, and the travelling expenses of exiles and pilgrims.

Finally far greater precision in the use of geographical terms might be

¹ P. Grierson in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, 5th ser. ix (1959), 130.

expected of a book which is after all primarily a study in economic geography. Professor Lewis's rivers flow in odd directions: in 678 Wilfred proceeded from Utrecht 'down the Rhine and Moselle to Italy' (p. 127). A century earlier, we are told (p. 102), 'came the final Slavic push across Northern Germany to the Atlantic'. And earlier still the question is asked (p. 66) 'between 400–550 . . . what happened . . . to that portion of Gaul . . . between the Rhine, the Loire and the Channel? What was its fate, cut off from Britain, on the one hand, and from the Mediterranean, on the other, by the . . . Visigoths and Burgundians?' What indeed?

Bodleian Library, Oxford

J. N. L. MYRES

FACSIMILES OF ENGLISH ROYAL WRITS TO A.D. 1100, PRESENTED TO VIVIAN HUNTER GALBRAITH. Edited by T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplain. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1957. xxiv pp. + xxx plates. 45s.

This very handsome book presented to Professor Galbraith on his retirement from the chair of Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford contains reproductions of twenty-nine royal writs dating from before the year 1100. It is a valuable instrument for all students of palaeography and diplomatic. The documents are fairly closely datable, so we have some useful comparative material before us. The arrangement of the documents is under the heading of the beneficiaries in whose favour the writ was issued. These were long-lived institutions such as cathedrals, abbeys or municipal corporations who preserved them as title deeds. Of the various writs which survive in a condition to allow them to be mistaken for originals there are a number of *spuria*. It is therefore most useful to have a list of all sealed royal documents of the period, classified as certain or probable or spurious. In the latter class no less than nine out of fifteen come from Westminster Abbey, seven of them purporting to have been issued by Edward the Confessor. In the list of genuine documents it would have been useful to have had the names of the beneficiaries noted as the editors have done for their more shady companions.

Palaeographically the writs are of considerable interest, since they bear witness to an important change in the writing of documents at the end of the eleventh century. In the pre-Conquest period the hands are virtually indistinguishable from those employed for the writing of texts. After the Conquest there comes an increasing use of much more cursive types of writing for the Latin documents, whilst those written in the vernacular were not affected by this process. Nos. 9 and 10, from Durham, are both written in a pure book hand which the editors have compared with an Augustine in Durham, and were presumably written by a Durham scribe. These two pose the question as to who wrote the writs. Some were unquestionably written by the royal clerks, but others must have been written out at the order of the beneficiary and then presented for sealing with the royal seal.

The plates are well done and the editing excellent. Some of the endorsements have been reproduced but not all. Nevertheless they have been in every case noted in the descriptions. The seal-bag protecting No. 21, from Peterborough, is another example of the use of foreign silks, in the present case probably Spanish, for this purpose.

King's College, London

F. WORMALD

CARTULARY OF ST. MARK'S HOSPITAL, BRISTOL. Ed. C. D. Ross. Bristol Record Society's Publications, vol. xxi. 1959. xliv + 326 pp. 42s.

This cartulary, which came into the possession of the Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol when they purchased the site and property of St. Mark's Hospital from the Crown in 1541, escaped from their custody before 1800, and eventually made its way into the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps. Fortunately the Corporation was able to purchase it when it came up for sale in December 1950. It is good to see it back in the hands of its lawful custodians and now edited so sensibly and competently by Mr. Ross, with a helpful and interesting introduction. The lack of this cartulary has been a handicap to every historian of medieval Bristol since the time of William Barrett, though not, it must be said, so grievous a handicap as the inaccessibility of the cartulary of St. Augustine's in Berkeley Castle. It contains 445 charters, deeds and records of lawsuits in which the house was involved. These naturally throw much light upon the history of St. Mark's, which rapidly developed as an Augustinian community where the religious predominated over the eleemosynary function. They also contain much that is of value to students of borough history, in all its aspects, and to legal historians. The deeds relating to the hospital's lands in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire and Wiltshire contain material of interest to the agrarian historian, and those whose concern is with social and political history will also find some grist for their mills.

Mr. Ross has wisely recognized that the publication *in extenso* of such a cartulary as this imposes an unjustifiably heavy burden upon the resources of a local record society, and that the majority of the deeds would gain little from being printed in full. They can be effectively calendared, and this has been done, so that a useful collection has been made available to historians without needless delay, and in a handy form with the necessary indices. An appendix contains full texts of some fifteen documents, namely those concerned with the foundation and constitution of the house, a small group of deeds dating from before 1200, and a few in which the meaning is not entirely clear.

University of Birmingham

H. A. CRONNE

MEDIEVAL POOR LAW: A SKETCH OF CANONICAL THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION IN ENGLAND, by Brian Tierney (California University Press: C.U.P. 1959. x + 169 pp. 30s.) is not intended solely for a professional audience nor is it professed to be a definitive account. Consequently it contains a fair amount of elementary exposition and often does no more than 'identify problems'. The best part of the book is the very lucid account of the views of the canonists on the rights of the poor, on the duties of laymen and ecclesiastics towards them and on the means by which performance could be enforced. The author shows how much attention they paid to some of the problems of poverty and how humane many of the solutions were. Admirable examples of their modes of thought are given. His account of the application of theory is very inferior. He goes far ahead of what evidence there is: he does not seem to have used much of it, e.g. there is no reference to any bishop's register later than 1369: he makes sweeping assumptions about economic life and utilizes them to make others about the relief of poverty. It is rash to say, even as a hypothesis, that in the thirteenth century 'a healthy man could support

himself if he chose to work' or, even as a tentative conclusion, that 'taking all in all the poor were better looked after in thirteenth-century England than in any subsequent century until the present'. This is a lively book, much of it is very useful, the rest too sketchy to be anything but trying.

Worcester College, Oxford

J. CAMPBELL

THE MEMORANDA ROLL FOR THE TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING JOHN (1207-8), edited by R. Allen Brown for the Pipe Roll Society (vol. lxix. 1957. xv + 227 pp.) is a miscellany and, besides the Memoranda Roll, contains the Curia Regis Roll for Hilary Term 1196 and part of that for Easter Term 1198, a small roll containing inventories of royal plate and finally an edition by Professor C. R. Cheney of part of the Close Rolls for 1215 and 1216. The Memoranda Roll is the second earliest to survive and is only the third to be published. These early Memoranda Rolls were simply rough notes made in the course of Exchequer business to facilitate the annual audit. Their main value and interest is, therefore, administrative, and although some of these jottings may be difficult to interpret they do illuminate the continuous activity of the Exchequer and help us to understand the processes that lie behind the more formal and carefully prepared Pipe Rolls. Mr. Brown has done as much as is possible in print to indicate the untidy form of the original and anyone interested in the development of the royal administration will be grateful for his edition, and also for his introduction which is a useful contribution to the study of the early Memoranda Rolls in general as well as being a helpful guide to this one in particular. The earlier of the two Curia Regis Rolls is a greatly improved edition of a text that has already been printed by the Pipe Roll Society. The second is an edition of part of Curia Regis Roll No. 8B. With their publication all the known Curia Regis Rolls for the reign of Richard I are printed and a convenient list on p. 95 indicates where. Professor Cheney contributes an edition of the Close Rolls for the periods 6-23 (?) May 1215 and 7-18 May 1216. This revision of Hardy's edition has partly been made possible by the recovery, since Hardy's time, of some additional fragments. The importance of these improved texts of the Close Rolls for such critical periods in John's reign needs no emphasis. The remaining document consists of several inventories of royal plate apparently drawn up in 1207 and 1208. Whatever the explanation for this compilation, the careful note made of the weight of each piece reminds us that these cups, bowls and salvers were more than elegant table ware, they were treasure.

University of Birmingham

P. H. SAWYER

EMPEROR MICHAEL PALÆOLOGUS AND THE WEST, 1258-1282. A STUDY IN BYZANTINE-LATIN RELATIONS. By Deno John Geanakoplos. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xii + 434 pp. 6os.

Professor Geanakoplos has already written a number of valuable articles on the subject of the Emperor Michael VIII and the West. His complete study of the whole question is therefore very welcome. It is an attractively presented volume, but not very easy to read. The style is somewhat wordy and not always elegant. The footnotes occupy almost as much space as the text, and, though they bear tribute to the author's wide reading, they are sometimes a little irrelevant. But the book deserves serious attention. It is a comprehensive,

detailed and careful study of the period that it covers. It describes better than it explains the whole course of events; but the author's immense knowledge of the sources, though he sometimes seems to value them a little jejunely, gives his opinion weight. Anyone who, like the present reviewer, has attempted to work on this complicated period, must regret that so useful a book should not have appeared sooner.

The weakest part of the book is on the religious side. Professor Geanakoplos almost seems to regard religion as a purely diplomatic activity. It is neither fair to Pope Urban IV nor correct to say that he considered the Union of the Churches as 'primarily a way of preventing the realization of his gravest fear—a Hohenstaufen Constantinople'. He seems curiously lacking in understanding of the Greek Church. It is quite wrong to translate *oikonoçoula* as 'considerations of self-interest'. It means elasticity in the interests of the House, that is, the Christian community or the *Ecumene*. Nor is it fair to say that the Greek opposition to Union was based on nationalism, a fear of Latinization. There were already fundamental religious differences, notably a difference in the conception of what the Church is, and of the functions of the hierarchy. Considering the detailed nature of his book, the author might have given us more details of the opposition to the Emperor in Constantinople. As it is he barely mentions the Patriarch Joseph. He omits the interesting episode at the Council of Lyons when one of the Greek delegates noticeably stopped singing when the word *filioque* appeared.

Such criticisms do not destroy the value of a book whose main merit is its exhaustive and accurately referenced accumulation of facts. It is possible to question some of the author's judgements and deductions; but he never makes rash statements unsupported by evidence. His book does not add much to the further understanding of the *zeitgeist* of Byzantium; but it is a work for which every student of the Mediterranean world must be grateful and to which he will often wish to refer.

STEVEN RUNCIMAN

IN LA FRANCE GOUVERNÉE PAR JEAN SANS PEUR: LES DÉPENSES DU RECEVEUR GÉNÉRAL DU ROYAUME (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. 405 pp.) B.-A. Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, who published an all too brief analysis of the receipt side of the rejected accounts for 1418–20 of Pierre Gorremont, 'Receiver-general of the Kingdom', in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* in 1937, calendars their issues and adds a longish introduction on a number of political topics illustrated in them. Gorremont's accounts are unique: they survived in the Burgundian archives among the papers of the proctor who eventually re-submitted them for audit, and so avoided the manifold cataclysms which befell those of the *Chambre des Comptes* of Paris. But despite this and the fact that Gorremont served during the fitful heyday in medieval France of an united administration of both ordinary and extraordinary revenue, his accounts are invaluable only for a period pitifully short of evidence for its financial history. For he was in fact receiver-general not of the kingdom but of the varying part of it under Burgundian influence; and the revenue of even that part did not go entirely through his hands. He was by-passed by the *Trésor*; he was by-passed by local receivers. How far Gorremont's totals differ from the actual totals of receipt and issue is far from clear: M. Pocquet declined to grasp this nettle in 1937 and he is not

concerned with it today. He has published Gorremont's issues primarily as a source for personalities and for politics; to illustrate the ways in which that unusual government of 1418-20 spent its money. The various Households, the war and royal gifts swallowed up most of Gorremont's funds. But his incomplete competence is still a problem; the 'gifts' to the duke of Burgundy, for example, by-passed the account. And in some matters—the war, for instance—specialist officers dealt with the spending of lump sums Gorremont gave them. But the issues he did make—some 1600 in the whole book, of very varied importance—illustrate well the workings of the lesser lights of the governmental firmament. M. Pocquet fixes his telescope especially on these and delimits their careers with care and lavish detail in valuable biographical footnotes.

For this and for its evidence on politics in the period the book will be useful, as M. Bonenfant found the manuscript of it for his *Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes*. One can only regret M. Pocquet's decision to ignore the financial aspect of the documents; for not only might some details incorporated from his earlier article have helped in understanding his present work but one might wish that he had thought fit to raise his aim and, as he himself suggested in 1937, with the aid of other surviving accounts to attempt to shed some light on the whole mechanism of royal finance in the period. But though the nettle remains ungrasped, what M. Pocquet has done is well worth while.

All Souls College, Oxford

P. S. LEWIS

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF WESSEX by L. V. Grinsell (London: Methuen. 1958. 384 pp. 42s.) is a most valuable handbook. It gives an account of Wessex from the earliest times to the end of the pagan Saxon period, with five distribution-maps and a gazetteer of sites. Medieval historians will find its dispassionate sections on the Roman and Saxon periods most useful.

GUILLAUME LE CONQUERANT by Michel de Boüard (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1958. 128 pp.) is a modest little volume in the 'Que sais-je?' series. It does not pretend to be more than a summary of recent work, but English readers will find it interesting because of its emphasis on the Norman aspects of William's career. The author is one of the acknowledged experts on the early history of Normandy, and his book merits attention.

In THE GREAT LAMBETH BIBLE (London: Faber and Faber. 1959. 38 pp. + 8 plates. 25s.) C. R. Dodwell discusses the origin of one of the finest of twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts. He shows that it was probably made for one of the two abbeys at Canterbury, that it is related in style to the great bible of Bury St. Edmunds, and in iconography to Norman-Byzantine mosaics in Sicily. Two of the eight coloured plates illustrate leaves of the Gospel Book of Liessies Abbey (Nord) which is dated 1146 and whose illuminations are believed to be by the same artist.

ACCOUNTS AND SURVEYS OF THE WILTSHIRE LANDS OF ADAM DE STRATTON, edited by M. W. Farr (Wiltshire Archaeological Society Records Branch, vol. xiv. Devizes. 1959. xxxviii + 266 pp. 20s. for members, 30s. for non-members) is the first of a series printing Wiltshire documents taken into the

royal archives by the fall of Stratton. Most of those in this volume are audited accounts for the big manor and administrative centre of Sevenhampton between 1269 and 1288. Extents, a view and some of the reeve's draft accounts are added. Mr. Farr's introduction is in some degree one to the whole series. He has left the economic significance of the material to those who use this volume but has given a good account of what Stratton's Wiltshire lands were and of the earlier and later history of some of them. The editing, the apparatus and the production are admirable.

IN LENTON PRIORY ESTATE ACCOUNTS 1296 TO 1298, edited by F. B. Stitt (Thoroton Society Record Series, vol. xix. Nottingham. 1959. xl ix + 51 pp. 25s.), are printed the accounts of the king's agents for twenty-one months during which this house was in his hand. They are an awkward source, but information will have to be squeezed from such if we are ever to have a comprehensive account of medieval English agriculture. Mr. Stitt's introduction shows that he has got a good deal out of them which is of particular interest in relating to the estates of a medium-sized house, of relatively late foundation, in the Danelaw. It would have been better still had he referred more often to secondary sources.

EARLY MODERN

LOLLARDS AND PROTESTANTS IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK. 1509-1558. By A. G. Dickens. University of Hull Publications. Oxford University Press. 1959. 272 pp. 30s.

There are many secondary studies of the English Reformation, so that the temptation is to ask 'Yet another book on the Reformation?' But the truth is that there is still a great deal of detailed research work to be done, that in the English, as in the Continental Reformation, the generalizations have dangerously outstripped the monographs and the intricate research into documents and registers. Of all this Professor Dickens's important volume is a signal example, and to be hailed with profound gratitude. It is one of the curiosities of the Cambridge Modern History (old and new) that it has played down Lollardy as a factor in the making of the English Reformation. That this was contrary to the facts has been firmly pointed out for some years, for the documents in Foxe and Strype show that Lollardy in East Anglia and the Thames valley was a sizeable movement. Of one lay evangelist among them, Thomas Man, it was claimed that he 'turned over 700 to his opinions'. Of what English Reformer, and of how few Continental Reformers, can as much be claimed?

Now Professor Dickens has brought forward plain and indisputable evidence of Lollardy underlying the growth of Protestantism where we should have least expected, in the conservative Catholic country of the North, in the great diocese of York. He is able to stress the danger of 'assessing the heresy jurisdiction of the English Church by reference to episcopal registers alone'. He says that but for the 'act books' which he has used, 'a most distorted image

both of heresy and its repression would have remained'. The moral which he points is that there was probably more heresy in other dioceses than we should gather from the Bishop's Registers.

Professor Dickens traces the forms of earlier Lollardy, and the infiltration of Protestant opinion in the 1530s and '40s with undertones and overtones derived from the Continental Reformers. He makes the valuable point (for it has its exact counterpart in the growth of Protestantism and Anabaptist teaching on the Continent) that these ideas were carried by artisans and craftsmen moving along the roads from town to town in search of employment. One of the most valuable main sections of the book relates to the Pilgrimage of Grace, and here what he says is important as correcting recent views that this movement was mainly religious. Here he gives us the first full-length picture of Sir Francis Bigod, a Protestant fire-eater, who, beginning with ideas akin to those of Luther, moved towards what looks like a premonition of the Reformed Church. Bigod belongs to a generation of angry young men, some of them like himself adherents of Thomas Cromwell, and others like Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey more at home in court circles. In his views on tithes and 'impropriations' he has curious affinities with some of the radical Reformers on the Continent like Strauss and even Muntzer.

There are perhaps two comments which might be made on Professor Dickens's assessment of Lollardy and of Protestantism, though I gratefully accept his main position. First, to a real extent 'Lollardy' had become the name for an amalgam of dissent and of heretical notions, many of which antedate the Lollardy of the Wycliffe period, and others of which infiltrated through from all kinds of Continental heresy, perhaps even from the Balkans and from Spain and Provence. We know far too little of the pedigree of late medieval dissent. What is interesting is that much recent research has shown a similar sediment of heresy in the towns of South Germany, and especially in places like Zwickau, near the infection of Bohemia. Here, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, are similar groups of heretics, a mixture of Waldensianism (but is this not just a vague name for lay, Biblical, anti-clerical piety?) and Hussitism. That this was of greater extent than had been thought is clear for Germany and, in the light of Professor Dickens's book, now also for England. One day perhaps we shall know to what extent these things were true in the Netherlands and the Rhineland, and even in France and Spain. Thus the real point of comparison is not, as I thought myself with Professor Dickens some years ago, between English Lollardy and the Anabaptists, but with a general radical ferment of heresy out of which the Anabaptists on the Continent emerged, but a ferment very like English Lollardy as pictured here.

The other point is that the ignorance in this country of Continental Reformation research continues to be alarming and abysmal. Professor Dickens is not a sinner above others in Jerusalem (he has all the Anglican historians with him) in using woodenly rigid yardsticks, sadly out of date, when he uses the words 'Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Anabaptist' in ways which show no sense of the intricacies and involvements within the general Protestant ferment of 1520-40 and which make it so fascinating a subject. It is a pity that he seems to have been beguiled by a recent work into reviving the old harmful dilemma, either the English Protestants got all their ideas from abroad or we find the clues to them in the English Protestant (and

scriptural) tradition. The maintenance of this antithesis is the blemish imported by ecclesiastical historians into Reformation studies and we look to the lay historians to show us a more excellent way.

University of Manchester

GORDON RUPP

With the third volume of THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN ENGLAND (Cambridge University Press. 1959. xiv + 522 pp. 55s.), Professor David Knowles has worthily completed the immense task upon which he embarked just thirty years ago. Like all good runners, he has put forth his finest effort when within sight of the goal, and this volume may well be held to surpass even its admirable predecessors in distinction of treatment, as it unquestionably does in human interest and dramatic unity. As the situation demands, the work is one of synthesis rather than of research, and specialists in late monasticism will encounter few factual or thematic novelties. At the same time, several episodes—for example that of the Marian Restoration—have for the first time been treated in terms of modern scholarship. Even the oft-studied dossiers of Legh and Layton have been forced to yield some new considerations. No other expert could with this assurance have welded together so vast and so scattered an array of materials; no other living scholar could have surveyed them with so professional an eye, and yet with a judgement so angelically detached. Thrusting aside the passions and the propaganda which still too often distort our views of Tudor monasticism, Professor Knowles has gone back to his sources and has emerged guiltless of either the partizanship of Gasquet or the indiscriminate boisterousness with which certain scholars have belaboured that all-too-vulnerable zealot. Naturally enough, further research may still suggest modifications, while divergent philosophies and modes of approach may lead many observers to dissent legitimately enough from some of these particular judgements. While Professor Knowles extends himself to be just toward Cromwell's unprepossessing visitors, I firmly believe that he under-rates a great reforming statesman and a superb achievement of state when he writes (p. 205) of 'the ruthlessly blood-stained rule of Cromwell'. In all humility, one may still claim that a sympathetic study of the bitter necessities and the profoundly humanitarian achievements of the Tudor state is nowadays demanded from *ecclesiastical* historians of this period. By the same token, it might be maintained that Professor Knowles accords too much credit to those fathers of misrepresentation, Pole and Chapuys, and that he gravely over-estimates the integrity and the importance of religious motives in that most complex of all English rebellions, the Pilgrimage of Grace. Again, as a counsel of perfection, one might urge that a chapter on the rôle of religious men as active agents of the Reformation would have claimed a certain strident relevance. It would certainly not have founded for lack of materials.

But all these are details of orchestration in a book of truly symphonic planning and proportions. And it should not be deduced that all its merits lie in mere restraint. It is a calm book but not a cold one; it humanizes even the austere pages of Savine! On these rather rare occasions when the theme demands them, pathos and conviction are not lacking. If we have more than our fill of the average monk in his lukewarm complacency, we are also led into the high places, among the learned devotees of Syon, among the gallant Observants and the martyred Carthusians. No Englishman adorned the

Tudor Age more nobly than did Prior Houghton, yet there were few stranger or more varied communities than that over which he ruled, and which found its historian in Maurice Chauncy. Here the hysterical and heroic characters of the London Charterhouse are for the first time handled with critical sense and insight. If we would see true monasticism with its shining peaks and its dark valleys of the spirit, it is to the Charterhouses we most need to turn, and scholars now pursuing late Carthusian studies may still hope worthily to supplement the rather meagre sections devoted by Professor Knowles to the provincial houses of this order. Here, as in many other parts of his enormous field, he has not been conspicuously well served by those of us whose business it is to write local and regional history. We above all others shall need to work harder and more intelligently before any major revisions of this magisterial work can be attempted.

University of Hull

A. G. DICKENS

C. W. Dugmore's *THE MASS AND THE ENGLISH REFORMERS* (London: Macmillan. 1958. xiii + 262 pp. 30s.) is a weighty addition to the study of sixteenth-century theology. It flings its net fairly widely too. Though centred upon Cranmer and his contemporaries, it begins with a survey of patristic and medieval Eucharistic thought and practice, and ends with a longish chapter on the Elizabethan settlement. A good deal is handled *en route* (including Sir John Neale's version of what happened in the first weeks of Elizabeth's first parliament. Important counter-suggestions are offered). Briefly, we may summarize the author's main thesis thus: it will not do to describe the Eucharistic doctrine of the leading English reformers simply as Zwinglian or Calvinist and so on. In the first place this is often inaccurate. Cranmer, for example, as is demonstrated here, was never the Zwinglian that some have called him. Secondly, whatever its debt to the Continent, English thought drew its true inspiration from the Fathers and early medieval writings. The Eucharist had been a centre of continual debate from early times. If the papalist doctrine had eventually prevailed, variants and alternatives had survived beneath the surface. Frith, Cranmer, Ridley and the like stand at the head of this debate. Their ancestry stretches back ultimately to the 'realist-symbolism' of Augustine, *via* such figures as Ratramn of Corbey. They lifted back on to the surface a tradition which had once prevailed and never been extinct.

It is good for a mere historian to be re-oriented thus and shown the complexity of a situation which he often describes and not always comprehends. In the face of this erudition he may be reduced to awed silence. But perhaps a few comments—off the main, and established, point—may be ventured. Is there really such a gulf between, say, Cyprian's realism and Ambrose's doctrine of conversion? Is Ambrose really the villain of the piece, as is implied here? Essential change is not the same as metabolic change. Could not their lack of an Aristotelian vocabulary, rather than doctrinal difference, largely account for the discrepancy between some early writers and the Fourth Lateran Council? What exactly is meant by such phrases as 'the gross belief in carnal presence' attributed to late medieval Englishmen? What is the evidence for this? No one in his senses could believe in a carnal, physical presence. If he did would he not have been as unorthodox as, say, a recep-

tionist? One last point: the quotation from Fisher on p. 90 is, I believe, a quotation of Fisher's quotation from Henry VIII's *Defensio Septem Sacramentorum*.

Queen Mary College, London

J. J. SCARISBRICK

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE IN TRANSITION, 1558-1642, by Mark H. Curtis (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. ix + 314 pp. 42s.) is described by its author as a study of changing relations between the English universities and English society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While not the first to explore such a topic, he claims—and has excellent grounds for doing so—that the fresh evidence on which he has worked justifies him in revising some long-established generalizations. This material includes the directions tutors gave to their pupils (one attributed to Richard Holdsworth, 'loving and careful tutor' to Sir Simondes D'Ewes, is a most interesting example), lists of books in the possession of students, the contents of some of their notebooks, private letters, and autobiographies. These are used to correct impressions gleaned from more official sources such as university and college statutes, and contemporary criticisms of university education. The author's contention is that while the period was not one of spectacular change within the universities it was marked by some important innovations. The student population altered character with the arrival of the sons of the gentry: there were changes which broadened the curriculum, improved the methods of instruction, and expanded the responsibilities and functions of the universities. Such developments inevitably affected these institutions, bringing them into touch with the outside world, and giving them a more influential position in English society. Mr. Curtis has read widely in both printed and manuscript sources, and he has accumulated much fresh information relevant to his subject. He does not, however, carry his learning lightly and, despite the intrinsic interest of his theme and the store of fresh evidence he provides, even the specialist reader will on occasion find the book difficult reading.

King's College, London

C. H. WILLIAMS

JOHN MAITLAND OF THIRLESTANE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STEWART DESPOTISM IN SCOTLAND. By Maurice Lee, Jr. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 314 pp. 48s.

In this book the author suggests that John Maitland's historical reputation has been unjustly overshadowed by that of his elder brother, Mary's secretary. He traces John's career from the time he entered politics as a supporter of his brother's pro-Marian policies to his death in 1595, and tries to show that he has 'some claim to a place beside Thomas Cromwell and Cardinal Richelieu as one of the significantly creative state-builders of early modern Europe'. During the ten years of his ascendancy, the author argues, Maitland created an administrative machine run by a new 'official class' which permanently weakened the power of the aristocracy, tightened the mechanisms of government, and in effect laid the groundwork for the Stewart absolutism in Scotland that was not finally destroyed until the Revolution of 1688.

Mr. Lee picks his way skilfully and confidently through the complicated events of his period. He provides an able analysis of the many problems the Scottish government faced at this time, such as the constitution of the kirk, the endemic intriguing and brawling of the nobles, and the question of

James's succession; and he handles his materials with detachment and insight. But his anxiety to attribute integrity and consistency to his protagonist's behaviour leads him too often into vague assumptions. Too many of his sentences contain phrases like 'Maitland was aware that . . .' without the documentary illustration he carefully attaches to other statements. This might be legitimate speculation if it were not so important to his thesis to show that Maitland had indeed the character of a dedicated statesman rather than an official bent on the enhancement of his own personal and family fortunes. Again, Mr. Lee claims that Maitland was 'King James's political tutor', but he also shows that in every major situation James went his own way, sometimes in defiance of Maitland's own opinions. It is unfortunate for his argument that he cannot clarify the true relationship between Maitland and the king. The secretary-chancellor seems to have been a diffident teacher and James a remarkably masterful pupil.

This book, like Mr. Lee's earlier *James Stewart Earl of Moray*, demonstrates once again that the period does not lend itself readily to the biographical approach; nevertheless it is an extremely interesting and useful contribution to Scottish historiography, which is starved of bold, analytical, discursive studies of this kind.

Jordanhill College, Glasgow

W. A. GATHERER

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA. By Garrett Mattingly. London: Cape. 1959. 382 pp. 25s.

Professor Mattingly describes his book as 'addressed not to the specialist but to the general reader interested in history'. The specialists, however, will be very ill-advised if they take him at his word. For what he has given us is a beautifully designed, admirably balanced, and thoroughly up-to-date account of the most famous episode in Elizabethan history. The description of the actual fighting is excellently, often excitingly, done. It makes very clear the broad outlines of the action and illuminates them with lively accounts of particular incidents, yet never lets us forget the confusion and the fumbling of this first great battle between sailing navies. The story of the course of the battle does not perhaps differ greatly in its main lines from that with which Corbett and his successors have long made us familiar. But there are important shifts of emphasis and interpretation that reflect not only the progress of modern research but also Professor Mattingly's alertness to factors that his predecessors too often under-rated. In particular he has an awareness of the limitations of sixteenth-century warships and war navies that some of the more narrowly naval historians have curiously lacked. This is evident in his discussion of English strategy before the Armada sailed. He makes clear how easily the English fleet, if it had been mobilized too early, might have had its efficiency and fighting strength run down before the test of battle came. He shows again, as Dr. Williamson had pointed out before him, what risks too bold and too early a movement towards the Spanish coast might have entailed. We are made to realize, as clearly as Elizabeth's sailors, the formidable defensive strength and discipline of the Spanish fleet, especially against the English tactics of relying upon long-range gunfire. After a week's fighting in the Channel, in which both sides used up nearly all their unusually large stores of ammunition, not one ship had lost a mast through gunfire, not one had been forced out of the line for more than a day. These things have

seldom been made so plain and they are things of importance for the whole long history of the Elizabethan war with Spain. Professor Mattingly also brings out more clearly than any before him the implications of the novelty of this first 'modern' naval battle. 'No naval campaign in previous history, and none afterward until the advent of the aircraft carrier, involved so many fresh and incalculable factors.' 'Nobody understood the new weapons employed or the tactics they required.' This has perhaps made him a little tender to the aberrations of Drake and Howard. But it has also made him the first historian to do full justice to Medina Sidonia. Indeed, the Spanish commander emerges as one of the heroes of the book, as the man whose cool leadership and courage brought the Armada in unbroken formation through to Calais and whose determination brought at least half of it home again to Spain.

These chapters on the 1588 campaign, and the earlier ones on Drake's operations in 1587, would in themselves make this a notable book. It has, however, an even greater merit. It replaces the naval action of those two summers 'in the broader European context in which it had once been viewed but from which, in the peaceful years before 1914, it had become more and more detached'. It regards the Armada, that is to say, not as a Spanish response to an English challenge for command of the ocean and for the seaways to empire, but rather as a decisive episode in the European conflict between Reformation and Counter-Reformation. It was Philip II's answer to Elizabeth's interference in his Netherlands and to the obstruction that she offered to 'the first of those efforts by continental military powers to establish a European hegemony which have provided a recurrent pattern in modern history'. The accident that England was an island meant that the answer had to be delivered by sea. Yet what really depended upon this great sea battle was not oceanic supremacy or imperial destinies in America and Asia, but the future of Europe and the fate of Protestantism there. All this Professor Mattingly's wide acquaintance with the archives of western Europe and his mastery of European diplomatic history enable him to explain with convincing authority. He perhaps over-emphasizes the effect of Mary Stuart's execution as the one dramatic event that brought the crisis to a head: it might be argued here that most of the vital, committing moves had been made already in 1585. He could bring out more sharply how well placed Parma was after 1585 to turn the eastern flank of the Dutch Republic and to roll up its southern defence line along the great rivers. In some of the chapters on French affairs the argument is blurred and confused by his resort to the 'let's jump ahead and then go back and see how we got there' method. The coy allusiveness of the opening sentences, and of some later ones too, will surely flatter the 'general reader' rather than enlighten him. But these are small doubts and grumbles to set against the remarkable achievement of this book. To draw together into a coherent and lively pattern all the various threads—English, Scottish, Netherlandish, French, Roman, Spanish—of this complicated history required an unusually sure grasp and a high dexterity. Professor Mattingly has not discovered 'a new way of writing history', as his publishers for some very obscure reason claim. What he has done is something better. He has returned to, and vastly enriched, an older and sounder tradition. He has given us quite the best account there is of the naval campaigns of 1587–8 and he has shown us the Armada

in its true European context, joining again what Mahan's disciples had put asunder.

Worcester College, Oxford

R. B. WERNHAM

THE TRAGIC HISTORY OF THE SEA 1589-1622. Edited by C. R. Boxer.
C.U.P., for the Hakluyt Society. 1959. xiv + 297 pp. 46s.

The unique position held by Professor Boxer in the field of Portuguese studies in this country is universally recognized. This latest of his numerous writings confirms the international reputation which he rightly enjoys. His theme here is maritime disaster at the turn of the sixteenth century on the Indian trade route, the famous *carreira da India*, or round voyage, of some eighteen months between Lisbon and Goa. In the introduction, Dr. Boxer's extraordinary erudition is reflected in his treatment of the *não* or carrack, the largest ship of its time, sometimes exceeding 2000 tons, the superiority of the teak-built carracks from Goa or Cochin over the European version in pine or oak, the hazards of the long voyage (monsoon, adverse currents, enemy attacks, etc.), conditions aboard, especially the stupid overloading of these 'floating Babylons' on the return voyage, and the fantastic mortality rate. Dr. Boxer has selected three narratives of shipwrecks off the shore of South-East Africa. They are of high value for the early history and ethnography of South-East Africa, a point recognized nearly fifty years ago by the South African historian, George McCall Theal. Part of what Dr. Boxer has to say he has said before. But now one could wish that he would write more generally about the oriental emigration of Portuguese men and women, its causes, scale, effects and distribution. In particular, though he confirms, with Quirino da Fonseca and James Duffy, that during the years 1580-1650 losses by sea among the Indiamen, especially on the return voyage, were 'staggeringly high', and tentatively explains the reduction after 1650, he does not attempt to explain to what extent and why losses increased around 1580. And what of the significance of the evidence of these narratives in the general history of the decline of the Portuguese in the Orient? Perhaps we ask too much. Dr. Boxer is too cautious, too modest. What is certainly new here is the availability of three contemporary narratives not previously accessible in English. Meticulous care has been taken in the translation and the annotation. This book, as a whole, makes a fascinating record. Both the lay reader and the specialist will recognize its value and admire its scholarship.

University College of North Staffordshire

J. W. BLAKE

Dr. A. L. Rowse's expansion of the first series of Trevelyan Lectures which he gave at Cambridge in 1958, THE ELIZABETHANS AND AMERICA (London: Macmillan. 1959. xiv + 222 pp. 25s.), is an effective piece of exposition. The lecture form suits him and has led him to tie together vividly and, on the whole, soundly the various strands which linked the Elizabethan period to North America and to trace the various steps by which men brought up in the sixteenth century impressed their works and their ideas on the early seventeenth-century colonies of settlement. There is not much that is new on the period before 1607, though the vigour of the character sketches is typical, but the American settlements have something of the charm of novelty for him and to look at Sir Ferdinando Gorges or the Puritans of Massachusetts

Bay through his eyes as representatives of Elizabethan types is interesting and helpful. His raid on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature for evidence of the impact of America on English culture is also stimulating. Though the book gives evidence of wide reading there are few traces of original research and some signs of haste and carelessness. Ribault did not establish a settlement at St. Augustine in 1565; the proviso to Raleigh's 1584 Virginia bill related to licences for settlers and to impressment, that cited by Dr. Rowse being contained in the patent of the previous April; Raleigh did not write from the Tower of Virginia 'I shall yet live to see it an English nation', but in a letter to Cecil in 1602; James Rosier did not write the narrative of Gosnold's voyage of 1602 as would have been clear if Dr. Rowse had gone back to the original tract or read on a few pages in Purchas; it is not strictly correct to say the last sixteenth-century Spanish fleet at Newfoundland was that taken by Bernard Drake in 1585 as it was Portuguese fishermen he seized and the Spanish Basques came to Newfoundland as usual thereafter; the sprinkling of settlers in Newfoundland before 1610 seems to have sprung from Rowse's imagination.

University of Liverpool

DAVID B. QUINN

PURITANISM AND REVOLUTION. By Christopher Hill. London: Secker and Warburg. 1958. ix + 402 pp. 42s.

Fourteen essays are collected in this book, several of which have not appeared in print before. As Mr. Hill is one of the most learned and stimulating of present-day historians who deal with the English seventeenth century, the publication of these essays in a single compendious volume is particularly welcome. All are characterized by extensive knowledge, felicitous writing, and love of their subject. Among the best are those on Clarendon, on the political sermons of John Preston, and on the attitudes taken towards the Norman Conquest by liberal and radical theorists. The outstanding essay, perhaps, is the first, 'Recent Interpretations of the Civil War'. This seems to me one of the most sensible, balanced, and authoritative contributions to the discussion of the social character of the English revolution that has yet appeared.

Although all these essays have reference in one way or another to the English revolution, they do not quite bear out Mr. Hill's claim that 'they are united by a coherent approach'. There is, of course, a primary concern throughout with the social basis or implication of the subjects treated. But what is apparent, I think, is the considerable revision which his conception of the English revolution has undergone in the nearly twenty years during which these papers were composed. This is nowhere explicitly acknowledged, but many of the affirmations in the earlier essays contrast markedly with the admissions and modifications in those of the most recent date. In the latter, the revolution is no longer unequivocally represented as a straightforward class struggle, the religious issues are accorded greater weight, and the difficulty of ascertaining the correct social categories with which to describe the Civil War is fully recognized. Rather perplexingly, however, Mr. Hill continues to employ formulations which it might be thought he himself would now reject as fallacious. Thus, we still hear, for example, of pre-1640 England as a 'feudal' society, and the King's principal supporters are said to be 'feudal' landowners while the 'progressive' gentry are included in

Parliament's adherents. The concessive quotation marks around these terms do not make them any the more acceptable to us.

Of academic historians, no one in recent years has done more than Mr. Hill to demonstrate the significance of the English revolution and to focus attention on its social meaning. It is due partly to his writings that the idea once implied by the phrase 'the Puritan Revolution'—that the Civil War was an ideal conflict about religion with no material interests at stake—is stone dead. This is a considerable achievement. Provided the necessary qualifications are made, we may concur with Mr. Hill that England's revolution was, in some acceptable sense, 'bourgeois'. The task at present, it may be held, is to unite what is sound in this view with an interpretation that takes account of the fundamental respects in which the great rebellion is differentiated socially from others in the rest of Europe.

McGill University, Montreal

PEREZ ZAGORIN

Saints in Arms (Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 150 pp. 25s.) by Leo F. Solt considers, in one hundred pages of text and forty of bibliography and notes, the political and religious ideas of a group of outstanding New Model Army chaplains—among them the usually under-rated Welshman, William Erbury—with a view to a new assessment of the relations of puritanism and democracy in the 1640s. Mr. Solt concludes that the democratic element in puritan thinking has been exaggerated and that a more prominent place can and must be given to its authoritarian tendencies. The community of saints, in short, was far narrower than has recently been accepted and was to be ruled with a firmer hand. It is not always easy to pick up the thread of Mr. Solt's arguments and I may be wrong in finding him too inclined to identify his six distinguished but rather arbitrarily-chosen divines with the whole body of thoughtful puritans in the army. He seems also to suggest that 'the differences with a predominantly Presbyterian Parliament over religious and political matters which were so important to the officers and chaplains' did not engage the attention of the rank and file who were taken up with 'monetary matters' (i.e. back pay). Events and manifestos do not bear this out. Mr. Solt has written a pertinent and thought-provoking book which will be welcomed by all students of the period. But he has not yet demolished the work of Haller, Woodhouse and the rest of what one might call 'the school of liberty'.

University College, Cardiff

IVAN ROOTS

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR: A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR, 1642–1646. By Lt.-Col. Alfred H. Burne and Lt.-Col. Peter Young. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1959. xiii + 258 pp. 36s.

His share in this book is, unfortunately, the last contribution we can expect from Colonel Burne's pen. He died shortly after the book was published. And the seriousness of that loss becomes clear when it is remembered that Colonel Burne chose for himself a somewhat unpopular line in what was for long an unpopular subject, and at the moment there are very few who promise to take up where he left off. Military history is gradually becoming more accepted, but often enough in a biographical or broad strategic setting. Colonel Burne wrote of actual battles and tactics, particularly of those battles which were fought in England or in which the English have been

directly involved abroad. And, in the process, he made a valuable if modest contribution to our knowledge of persons and periods in our history when politics have degenerated into fighting.

The material in this book is not entirely new. Some of it has appeared in Colonel Burne's earlier books on the battlefields of England. But on this occasion Colonel Burne—with the collaboration of Colonel Young—deals with the whole of the First Civil War for the first time, and does so in a broad setting in which the campaigns, as well as the individual battles, are dealt with at some length. There is a useful bibliography. There is also a brief introduction in which some of the technical details of seventeenth-century warfare are discussed in so far as they are of importance for our understanding of the fighting which took place between the Royalist and Parliamentary armies. And there are plentiful, simple maps. This is a good book, whether to read straight through or for reference, for anybody disinclined to turn to the much longer works of Gardiner and Firth. It could be used with profit in the senior forms of schools as well as by undergraduates.

There is one criticism, however, which must be made. Some things about this book give the impression of haste; and it is possible that Colonel Burne himself was aware of that. Some of the remarks about Cromwell, for example, are petty if not unjust. In the accounts of particular battles there are some clear errors of detail. For example, did Rupert really go on beyond Chinnor on 18 June 1643? And, when he returned to Chalgrove, he found a distance of something like four miles, not a mile and a half, between that battlefield and Chislehampton Bridge. Indeed, the greater distance helps to make clear why Rupert fought when and how he did. Again, the account of the Marston Moor fighting makes that confused battle seem even more confused. Crawford cursed Cromwell once, but surely not twice. And a brief examination of the relatively narrow gap between the famous ditch and the Tockwith-Long Marston road would suggest that some of the Parliamentary forces, particularly Cromwell's, must originally have been drawn up south and not north of the road. These, however, are small criticisms of a book it is good to have. And it is a pity that Colonel Burne was unable to go on to write of the second half of the Civil War in a similar way.

All Souls College, Oxford

N. H. GIBBS

The parallel between the political writings evoked by the French wars of religion in the later sixteenth century and those published during the seventeenth-century struggles in England has often been noticed. IN THE FRENCH RELIGIOUS WARS IN ENGLISH POLITICAL THOUGHT (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. vii + 202 pp. 25s.) Mr. J. H. M. Salmon shows that this was no coincidence, nor merely a comparison subsequently drawn by historians, but a relationship consciously developed by seventeenth-century Englishmen themselves. That the Elizabethans were kept in close touch with contemporary French politics is evident from the long list of English translations of French works published at the time, which provided an abundant source on which future controversialists could draw. Some use was made of this in constitutional and legal disputes in England in the opening decades of the seventeenth century; after 1640 all parties were quick to interpret their own situation in the light of French precedents, and to adapt for English purposes the arguments of Hotman and the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, of Bodin and

Boucher, and many other French writers as well. Nor did this debt of English political theory to French sources end with the Interregnum. It persisted throughout Charles II's reign, and presently a two-way traffic developed, when the persecution of the Huguenots under Louis XIV induced in them an interest in contemporary English politics as well as renewed interest in their own predecessors' polemics against the Valois monarchs. They advised the English that James II could be deposed for breaking his covenant with his people, and such was the debt to France of English political theory at the Revolution (and this applies not only to Whigs and Huguenots, for absolutists were equally indebted to the *Politiques*) that Mr. Salmon concludes that what has often been regarded as a peculiarly English contribution to political theory was really nothing of the kind.

Was it, then, French? That English writers quoted precedents and adopted ideas from French sources is clear beyond a doubt from the abundant examples Mr. Salmon gives. But they also quoted Althusius and Arnisaeus, Grotius and Pufendorf, sometimes also Machiavelli, and classical authors as well. Mr. Salmon regards these seventeenth-century Dutch and German jurists as 'intermediaries' who, 'removed from the political stresses in which French doctrines had been formulated', 'sifted and digested' them, and 'shaped and adapted opposing theories for later English consumption'. This may be true in some cases, and English political thought undoubtedly underwent a change in the course of the seventeenth century, the older belief in an immemorial constitution being largely replaced by more abstract theories based not on history but on natural law. This change owed much to the importation of ideas forming part of a European tradition, whose roots lay in the Middle Ages. These ideas, as Mr. Salmon realizes, were no more peculiarly French than English, but it so happened that they were first put to practical use in sixteenth-century France, and so furnished examples for Englishmen to copy.

Oriel College, Oxford

J. W. GOUGH

FROM SHELDON TO SECKER: ASPECTS OF ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY 1660–1768: THE FORD LECTURES 1958. By Norman Sykes. Cambridge University Press. 1959. xi + 238 pp. 35s.

The Dean of Winchester poses the question how far the shortcomings of the Hanoverian Church were due to failure in 1660 and 1688 to make necessary reforms. In a beautifully articulated argument he makes suggestions for an answer. In spite of puritan criticisms, and later of suggestions by Archbishop Sancroft and Bishop Gibson, the church courts and the diocesan organization inherited from Henry VIII remained unreformed. The Convocations ceased to sit for business, first between 1664 and 1689; and again, except for two brief unfruitful meetings, after the Hanoverian succession. Despite the dangers of conflict between upper and lower houses, Gibson and others (and Dr. Sykes rather agrees) thought that this long cessation diminished the authority of the Church. It made room for interference by the secular legislature to the detriment of the clerical interest, without the clergy's having any chance of collective action. Secondly, attempts to comprehend within the Church the moderate presbyterians by amendments in liturgy and polity were frustrated finally by the non-juring of Sancroft, who was earnest in this cause. As the nonconformists of that day had by no means weak notions

of ecclesiastical discipline, such an union might well have strengthened Church authority against lay encroachment. Its liturgical consequences would almost certainly have been dreadful. The failure of comprehension, and the passing of the toleration act, promoted the forming of a fairly solid dissenting interest of growing political influence. Hence by 1768, in the opinion of such as the Duke of Newcastle, a necessary qualification of an Archbishop of Canterbury was not to annoy the dissenters; a great change from Sheldon's day, and different from Howley's. Another potent hindrance was the anti-clericalism of prominent politicians, for some of them an essential constituent of whiggery. Bishops, even archbishops, except for their parliamentary duties, were sometimes insultingly ignored, even in Church matters. Gibson produced cogent arguments against Hardwicke's Erastian judgement in *Middleton vs. Croft*. He did not think parliamentary confirmation necessary for canons ecclesiastical to have force of law. Finally there was the pervasive influence of the intellectual revolution—the triumphs of science and the dethronement of Aristotle—in England as in Europe in this Erastian century unfriendly to ecclesiastical pretensions. There is an interesting survey of reunion movements. Dr. Sykes writes with a justified enthusiasm of Anglican learning.

These lectures are as much a model of historical synthesis, comprehensive in scholarship and elegant in presentation, as *William Wake* was a masterpiece (though in some places most strangely caviare to the general), of primary historical investigation. This book, drawing on a wide range of recent work, and enriched by fresh findings of its author's own research, should make it finally impossible to treat the Hanoverian Church of England as it has too often been treated; merely as a dull, if not sordid, background for Evangelicalism and Methodism, which succulent figs can hardly have grown upon thorn.

Bedford College, London

R. W. GREAVES

In 1844 there were printed in London twelve copies of the *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*. In 1934 the Irish Manuscripts Commission published a facsimile reprint. There has now appeared in the same series a SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME edited by James Hogan with indexes by Lilian Tate. (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1958. xxxvi + 113 pp. 30s.) Here may be found introductory matter and indexes to the 1934 reprint, as also some additional documents. Although the introduction might go farther, this new volume will be indispensable to all who wish to make the best use of the 1934 reprint.

As one of the last achievements of a great Tudor historian, twenty-five years after the first edition Conyers Read presented us with a revised and expanded second edition of his BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY. TUDOR PERIOD, 1485–1603 (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xxviii + 624 pp. 63s.). It is a truly monumental compilation. The whole has been re-sifted and re-arranged, and two thousand titles added. It is interesting to notice how centres of gravity have shifted over a quarter of a century. Ireland, Scotland and Wales have gained ground on England; economic history has been outpaced by ecclesiastical; the Established Church and other dissenting

bodies by Roman Catholicism. All will give thanks to Conyers Read and his collaborators for this offering. And there are enough slips to keep the perverse happy, too.

LATER MODERN

PROGRÈS SCIENTIFIQUE ET TECHNIQUE AU XVIII^E SIÈCLE. By Roland Mousnier. Paris: Plon. 1958. 451 pp. illus. 2400 frs.

This volume is the verbatim record of a series of lectures given to candidates for the *agrégation* in history at the Sorbonne, in 1955–6. Some tricks of style, repetitions and diffuseness appropriate enough to the lecture-room are less happy in a printed text. M. Mousnier's object is to examine the technological innovations of the eighteenth century in relation to both the economic patterns of the period and its scientific developments. His survey—for the most part at a fairly elementary level—is limited to France and England. For the characteristics of the English economy and of the English industrial revolution the well-known works of Professor Ashton and other recent writers are followed; what is written of France is similarly taken from secondary sources but will be less familiar to most English readers. Unfortunately M. Mousnier gives more space to England than to France, and does not go so deeply into the technology of the *Encyclopédie* as one might hope in a work of this kind. He concludes that lack of balance in manufacturing capability (e.g. as between spinners and weavers) furnished the main incentive towards technological improvement.

The author finds (justifiably) very little influence of science on technology in the eighteenth century, and vice versa. His chapters on scientific developments are the most interesting in the book: for although many aspects of this story have been often described, proper attention is given to some less familiar facets of eighteenth-century science. However, this part of the book is also largely derivative, and the specialist authors whom M. Mousnier mentions should certainly be consulted. English readers may find constant reference to Auguste Comte (to whose memory the book is dedicated) rather puzzling; in fact, although recognizing imperfections in Comte's schematic rendering of the growth of science, M. Mousnier is apparently a positivist. As all too commonly, English names have given trouble to the author or printer (e.g. Newcomen, Nairme), Professor Douglas 'Mac-Kie' is not an American, and of course there is no index.

University of California

A. R. HALL

THE ATTORNEY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By Robert Robson.

Cambridge University Press. 1959. xii + 182 pp. 25s.

The story of the growth of the professions has attracted a certain amount of attention during recent years, though not as much as the importance of the subject warrants. There is still more, much more, that we should like to know. This book, therefore, should be welcome as helping to fill a distressing gap. Dr. Robson has managed to track down, and to make profitable use of, the papers of a number of eighteenth-century attorneys. He shows us some-

thing of their social and economic importance at the time; for they did much work that was not purely legal. Their increasing activity was a symptom of the increasing complexity of the national economy. If so much use was made of attorneys, the cause was not that Englishmen were becoming more litigious, but that there was increasing need for men of business—that term must serve for want of a better—with legal knowledge. Increasing business and its natural concomitant, increasing income, went along with an increasing urge to secure the maintenance of high standards of conduct. Jibes at attorneys had long been common, remained common throughout the eighteenth century, and are not unknown nowadays. But, if increasing use was made of attorneys, it was because they were found useful, and pettifoggers, so far from being useful, are notorious pests. About the desire of attorneys both in London and the provinces to secure the observance of high standards Dr. Robson has collected much useful information. He has, indeed, not always organized his materials as well as would a more experienced writer, and his reflections on the status and outlook of the middle class might perhaps have been abridged without serious detriment to his book. However, if these blemishes must be mentioned, it must also be said that they are minor blemishes and such as are almost inevitable in a first work.

University College, London

MARK A. THOMSON

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COMMONWEALTHMAN. STUDIES IN THE TRANSMISSION, DEVELOPMENT AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF ENGLISH LIBERAL THOUGHT FROM THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II UNTIL THE WAR WITH THE THIRTEEN COLONIES. By C. Robbins. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. viii + 462 pp. 8os.

Miss Robbins's book deals with a side of eighteenth-century politics which has received far less attention than the political Establishment of the period; it is a study of dissent—of a great variety of speculation on philosophical subjects and social questions as well as of political and constitutional theory. Its central theme however is that of the currents of scepticism and opposition towards the two dominating features of the system which emerged from seventeenth-century conflicts; the system of cabinet government and Parliamentary sovereignty, and the related connection of Church and State. The author's object is to distinguish among these various currents those which can be traced to seventeenth-century republican sources; ideas which were transmitted from Milton, Harrington, and their contemporaries through three generations of later Commonwealthmen or 'Real Whigs' by such figures as Sydney, Somers, and Molesworth; by Irish constitutional theorists and Scottish philosophers, and later by the work of Unitarian Dissenters, liberal Anglicans, Republican antiquaries and colonial theorists. It is a significant and interesting theme and the author brings very much of it to light from the obscure levels of eighteenth-century politics. For the greater part of the period from the Restoration to the American Revolution this republican ideology remained the property only of individuals, finding only uncertain and ineffective expression in organized politics. The author accordingly traces it in a collection of biographical studies. This method has its disadvantages, however, and the biographical detail sometimes seems overdone in what is primarily a study in the genealogy of ideas, to the detriment of what could in various ways have been a more exhaustive

examination of the ideas themselves and of their place in the eighteenth-century context.

The results and conclusions of Miss Robbins's work are clearest in the sections on the thought of Scotland and Ireland, where the link with the seventeenth century is more directly established. In Scotland the Presbyterian tradition and the vitality of philosophical speculation in the Universities kept alive and adapted ideas of the previous age and earlier theories of resistance; while in Ireland the same impulse, transmitted from Scotland by the influence most notably of Hutcheson, combined with the emergent national spirit to make natural an appeal to seventeenth-century doctrines of rights and the related conception of a federal empire in opposition to the asserted sovereignty of the English parliament. In those countries circumstances thus lent themselves, as they did more powerfully and with greater effect in the American colonies, to the direct transmission of older political and constitutional doctrine. In England the case was different. The system which developed from the Revolution met the country's needs and won the support or the acquiescence of the greater part of the political nation. In England too, denominational divisions, though reaching back to the seventeenth century, were not so well-defined, nor connected in such unbroken descent as those of Scotland, Ireland and America. For these, among other reasons, Miss Robbins's study of English liberal thought is less conclusive. Only one of the difficulties suggested by this section of the work can be indicated here. It is this: that the old constitutionalism, with its ideas of mixed government and balanced powers, was a far more ubiquitous factor in the political consciousness of the eighteenth century than is suggested in the concentration upon the limited circles which are the subject of this book. However its antecedents may be traced, it was the property of all kinds of men in politics in the eighteenth century, and among many of them, Bolingbroke especially and all those who followed his ideas, it was associated not with any republican inheritance but rather with a monarchical tradition. It is thus only a segment of liberal thought with which the author deals.

One further reflection suggested by this interesting book may finally be noted: it is that Miss Robbins undervalues, or estimates too narrowly the influence of the last generation of these eighteenth-century liberals; the generation of Priestley, Jebb, Wyvill, Gratton, Flood and the Scottish Reformers. In contrast with America, and in France where revolutionary thought had many affinities with their own, these men accomplished indeed very little, but their influence, estimated on a longer view, was not negligible; the Associations in which they were the moving spirit were important innovations in country-wide political organization and propaganda; and perhaps of greater importance still, the formula of civil and religious liberty which they preserved and elaborated stamped objectives and a direction on later politics which persisted long after the movement for reform had been transformed by social and economic changes and by Utilitarian thought.

University of St. Andrews

C. COLLYER

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS, vol. xi. 1783-1832. Edited by A. Aspinall and E. Anthony Smith. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1959. xxx + 992 pp. 95s.

'There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the propor-

tion.' Of books as large and handsome as this, something of the same might be said. Let the proportions speak for themselves. Here are the quantities of documents and pages of documents respectively in each section of the book, expressed as percentages with as much accuracy as a victim of early specialization can manage. Executive, 25 and 12: Parliament, 27 and 20: Administration of Justice (inc. Police), 3 and 5: Local Government and Poor Law, 3 and 5: Economic Development (inc. Public Finance), 14 and 18: Social and Religious Life (inc. Population and Health, religious and educational history, factory children and trades unions!), 14 and 18: Empire, 5 and 9: Wars and Foreign Policy, 9 and 13. Between 14 and 15 per cent. of the whole book is taken up by bibliographies and commentaries, general and sectional.

The main question to be decided is, whether this selection is only as much different from the unattainable ideal as anyone else's would be, or even more different. In either case, of course, the book is very useful, and no sensible reader can help but admire the industry and skill that have made it. Yet when that is said, there remains a nagging dissatisfaction, because it so obviously fails to do what it sets out to do. For it is idle to call it a 'documents book' and leave it at that. The confines of the old-style documents book, the kind that provided an irreducible agreed minimum, are only o'erleapt by dint of its becoming in essence a *history* of the period; and, to do its authors justice, they hardly pretend it is anything else, with their elaborate commentaries and sixty pages (unfortunately not annotated) of General Introduction. The incautious reader may therefore become the victim of an unintended confidence trick. He thinks he is getting the raw materials for history; but what he is really getting is a history in the guise of raw materials.

In the nature of the case, it had to be so. But the history did not have to be of quite so peculiar a kind. These two historians believe in the primacy of political history. They will have their supporters. But it is not to politics in any wide sense that obeisance is here made, but to politics meaning simply the courts, cabinets, closetings and inner-circle correspondence—the very things to which Professor Aspinall, at any rate, has devoted his life, and of which he is an acknowledged master. It is easier to learn about 'the limits to collective cabinet responsibility' (36 documents and much commentary) than about the case for and against the great reform bill. The nearest we get to the heart of the great matters of 1831–2 is not in the documents at all but in some not very revealing sentences in the commentaries (esp. pp. 43–4, 191). The great forces that ultimately move politics and the destinies of nations—social and economic change, class antagonisms, religious and political creeds and passions—make only fitful appearances, ill fitted in. Where, for instance, is Peterloo? It appears, as 'the proceedings of the magistrates at Manchester on the 16th ult.', in document no. 300, billed as 'Lord Liverpool to Canning, 23 Sept 1819'; and it is only named in a tiny footnote to p. 334. Where is Robert Owen, that founding-father of British socialism and king of co-operators? Dragged in once, to give evidence about factory children. Where are Burke—and Paine—and Cobbett? Cobbett once invited his countrymen to revere America as the land where there were 'No Wilberforces!—Just think of that, *No Wilberforces!*' It is not less remarkable that here there is *No Cobbett*. Where is The Press, representative of that revolution in the organization and effectiveness of public opinion which some would count

as the greatest political revolution of the whole period? Nowhere, except for a hurried acknowledgement of its development and power on p. 45 and a good chunk of bibliography on p. 196 which, quite unsupported, lies 'like a lump of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what it is not in its power to fertilise'.

The index tells the same tale. It is but an index to the texts, almost useless and quite contemptible. So are the maps and tables. They consist of: coal-fields and their markets in 1830: three maps of parliamentary constituencies: the royal family tree: and, for a grand finale, bellying out like the mainsail of a 74, a List of Cabinets 17 in. by 24 in. Agreed, that in any document book edited by mortal hands there must be some omissions—yet are not these omissions astonishing? And are not its proportions strange? The editors really must not get cross if we insist upon this point and refuse to be much consoled by what they consider its 'substantial merit', viz. that 'it embodies the fruits of research extending over many years, and prints for the first time important documents from many private archives as well as from the great MS. collections . . .' That is just the trouble. A little less excitement about what Noodle wrote to Lord Foodle about Goodle's alliance with Doodle, now for the first time brought out of the Boodle MSS., would have done this book no harm.

It is a pity to have to say these things, because the book has so much to recommend it, and further because its sins are, many of them, those of its parents. The truth is that these brimming source books are not nearly as useful for the modern as they are for the medieval period. Their value diminishes in proportion to the quantity of historical material already in print. Professor Douglas's General Preface is only really valid in respect of his medieval volumes. The best volumes in the series (and very good they obviously are) are the earlier ones, providing material that is at once essential, that is not otherwise easily come by, and that needs the attention of experts to make it ready for consumption. The later volumes cannot seriously claim to be performing services of the same kind.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

G. F. A. BEST

LA GRANDE NATION: L'EXPANSION RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE DE LA FRANCE DANS LE MONDE, 1789-1799. By J. Godechot. Paris: Aubier, Éditions Montaigne. 1956. 2 vols. 758 pp. 1980 fr.

In this work Professor Godechot has attempted the Herculean task of surveying, from archival as well as from secondary sources, the origins, methods and results of French expansionism during the revolutionary decade 1789-1799. It is not a history of formal diplomacy designed to correct or supplement Sorel's classical thesis, nor is it a study, like that of M. Fugier, seeking to broaden the content of international relations as such. It is rather an analysis of the tragic duality of French revolutionary expansionism, an objective assessment of how the original 'neutralism' of the French revolutionary assemblies was transformed first into missionary fervour and ultimately, under the pressure of circumstances, into the policy of annexation and economic 'extraction'. M. Godechot is naturally interested in the methods of revolutionary propaganda both inside and outside France and particularly in the spread of the popular press and 'club' organization, but his main theme is the export to the areas actually overrun by French armies

of the forms of revolutionary institutions—political, judicial and religious—and the resulting political and economic development of the countries thus affected. We have here, therefore, the results of a vast *enquête* conducted by the author, displayed in a comparative form. Patient or selective readers will have a number of new impressions opened up for them—such as the paradoxical influence of the *émigrés*, as well as that of the foreign *patriotes*, in facilitating the permeation of the Continent by French conceptions and the remarkable impact of *Babouisme*, especially in Holland and Italy. Younger scholars will welcome the frequent suggestions throughout the book for further detailed research and synthesis (on such matters as the reception of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the activities of the war-contractors, and the detailed localized study of transfers of real property). Work in these fields is still so incomplete that general synthesis such as M. Godechot attempts is bound to be inconclusive. As an interim statement of the newer tendencies of scholarship, or as a salutary plea that French scholarship should seek wider horizons, the book will perform a useful service.

Some may, nevertheless, consider that the author would have been well advised not to parade his favourite hobby-horse of the so-called 'Atlantic revolution' so prominently in his opening pages, since it is really outside the chronological limits of his enquiry and, logically, quite separate from it. Others may find the frequent repetition involved in the departmentalized analysis trying. It is a difficult and in some ways an arid book to read, relieved only by occasional stimulating *aperçus* and flashes of insight. Very few historians of the period, however, would have either the courage or the learning to attempt such a task and it is certainly a real contribution to the external history of the much neglected period of the executive Directory.

University of Manchester

A. GOODWIN

KARAMAZIN'S MEMOIR ON ANCIENT AND MODERN RUSSIA. Translated and edited by R. Pipes. Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xii + 266 pp.

45s.

Karamazin is important in two capacities: as the founder of modern Russian history and as one of the creators of Russian prose style. The *Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia* is a relatively little-known excrescence on the main body of his work, and the present translation with commentary by Professor Pipes is a welcome addition to our knowledge of him. The origins of the memoir are uncertain. It was written in the winter of 1810–11, and was clearly written to order; it is a plausible conjecture that the order came from Alexander I's sister who was surrounded by a circle opposed to Alexander I's reforming programmes. It is not known for certain whether Alexander I ever read it or what he thought of it, though it was certainly sent to him. It was published for the first time a quarter of a century later, though the circumstances surrounding its reappearance were once more obscure. Professor Pipes in his introduction has gone into these problems with great thoroughness, and it may be doubted that we shall ever come closer to a complete solution of them. Since many of the sources relating to Karamazin are rare and difficult of access, it is also useful to have the excellent biographical and bibliographical notes which Professor Pipes has added to his introduction.

Karamazin's views as expressed in his *Memoir* were commendably frank, but often naïve. Karamazin was a historian, as the initial words of the

memoir show: 'The present is a consequence of the past. To judge the former one must reconstruct the latter: each, so to say, complements the other, and viewed together, the two present themselves to the mind more clearly.' The historical sections of the *Memoir* are much the best, and reflect the great history on which he was engaged at the time it was written. His views on the current situation are more interesting as indications of contemporary attitudes than as contributions to thought. His remarks on foreign policy are simple and unrealistic; on financial affairs he is much more sensible, though it can still be doubted whether his views took much account of practical possibilities. His opposition to radical change is a matter of instinct rather than reason, and is couched in purely conventional terms. In one passage he tells us that 'Russia is seething with dissatisfaction'; but later it appears that 'one of the main reasons for the dissatisfaction of Russians with the present government is its excessive fondness for political change'. The diagnosis is, to say the least, implausible.

Professor Pipes occasionally seems to constitute himself an apologist for Karamazin's ideas, as in the strange argument that opposition to the emancipation of the serfs under Alexander I had the 'great merit' of warning Alexander's successors of the 'disastrous implications of a landless emancipation'. He recognizes that Karamazin was not a thinker, and had no interest in conservative theorists like Burke or De Maistre. But he has an odd passage on the conservatism which Karamazin is said to represent: 'Conservatism as a political idea . . . expresses itself in a reaffirmation of the primacy of the individual and the small, traditional, social group over the all-embracing body politic, and in an opposition, variously inspired, to all forms of social engineering.' This may be a fair account of mid-twentieth-century American (or British) conservatism. But what this conservatism seeks to defend is the achievement of the great liberal period which found its ideological inspiration in the French Revolution. And it was precisely to this that Karamazin was uncompromisingly opposed. He rejected anything tending to diminish the 'all-embracing' power of the autocracy. He was opposed to the abolition of the system of 'estates' and to the introduction of a civil code precisely because these proposals rested on the conception of the rights of man as an individual. To introduce modern ideas of conservatism into the Russia of a century and a half ago is surely a strange anachronism, and implies a fundamental misunderstanding both of Karamazin and of his epoch.

E. H. CARR

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF EUROPE SINCE THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

By René Albrecht-Carrié. London: Methuen. 1958. xvi + 736 pp. 45s. This work covers a large field (it brings the story down to 1957); it devotes, and rightly so, much space to extra-European problems; it attempts to deal with nearly every diplomatic negotiation; and it tries also to give the reader some idea of world economic development and of the internal problems of the powers. Hence it is not surprising that it deals with many of the more important diplomatic negotiations hurriedly and vaguely. This the author himself seems to have realized, for he has on occasions tried to make amends by putting a footnote (or after-thought) to his text.

The work is weakest on the period 1815 to 1870, because, one suspects, the author regards it as a mere background to what follows. Indeed, for that

period the reader will obtain only a bare factual outline (which is much less adequate than that provided in several well-known textbooks) and precious little understanding of the minds of those who conducted diplomacy. For the period 1870 to 1914 the quality of the book is much better; the author has made use of Albertini's great work, and he has avoided the error of regarding all diplomatic activity as leading to the First World War. Unfortunately, however, and for no apparent reason, he halts on the eve of Sarajevo to give us some twenty pages of commonplace generalizations, which are repeated later as the story unfolds. The account of the First World War is good, as is also the treatment of the period 1918 to 1957. All the same, much space might have been saved (and this applies to the whole of the work) by better planning and by thus avoiding reference to 'what has been said' and 'what it is proposed to do next'. The space so saved might have been used to describe more fully the various diplomatic agreements and negotiations, some of which are very cursorily dealt with. For example, Articles of the League Covenant are referred to, but not explained. The scope and importance of the Mediterranean Agreements are not brought out; and the change in Austria-Hungary's policy in 1895 is ignored. The Anglo-German Agreement of 1900 on China is not made very clear. The reference to Salisbury's Near Eastern policy is misleading, and Salisbury's policy in general seems not to be appreciated. All the same, these are relatively minor defects. A work of this kind is a great undertaking and on the whole the result is successful. The book seems to be free from old legends and is obviously based on wide reading and teaching experience. The author's judgements on Europe are very fair, and 'colonialism' is treated with sympathy and understanding. The Bibliography is good and helps to make this work a useful introduction to diplomatic history from 1815.

Birkbeck College, London

DOUGLAS DAKIN

Since historical appraisals and judgements necessarily change as the world changes, it is natural that many attempts should have been made to give a new view of Metternich's character and achievements after the great upheavals of the last half century. No one, however, has attempted to master the contents of the archives which record Metternich's achievements and reveal his character. Srbik on the advice of Pribram relied almost entirely on printed sources and his interpretation is more a revelation of his own attitude than that of Metternich. Professor G. de Bertier de Sauvigny in his *METTERNICH ET SON TEMPS* (Paris: Hachette. 1959. 272 pp. 900 fr.) has adopted a new method. His book is composed of extracts from Metternich's despatches and letters of which about half come from unpublished documents, mainly those in the *Staatsarchiv* at Vienna. The whole is connected together by a thin commentary in which the author occasionally exposes the presumption or falsity of the views expressed in the extracts. It is always good to have new documentation on an important personality, but extracts of this kind, torn from their context, can be very misleading. Metternich often wrote sententious passages in a covering despatch which were far from expressing his real object or his real opinion. His judgements on men varied with their attitude towards himself. Metternich was, however, in a sense the best expert at diagnosis in Europe and some of the forecasts given in the extracts are shrewd and imaginative.

The best part of the book is concerned with his principles and methods. It is useful to have collected together a number of Metternich's generalizations, though in some cases they are mere platitudes or self-vaunting. They show his conceit and arrogance as well as intellectual ability: Metternich possessed also the best diplomatic machine in Europe of which M. de Bertier de Sauvigny gives a good short account based on Dr. Mayr's two well-known books. He does not reveal, however, the standard technique of Metternich which was to stab in the back any foreign minister who opposed him by intriguing with his monarch or rivals.

The second part of the book dealing with Metternich's attitude towards foreign countries is perfunctory, except on France of which the author from previous work knows a good deal. The treatment of the other countries is quite superficial. Such few references as are made to British policy and statesmen, for example, are jejune. We may hope, perhaps, that the author will continue his researches in the archives and give his own interpretation of Metternich in the same lucid and incisive language which he employs in the short passages he allows himself in this book. CHARLES K. WEBSTER

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS IN FRANCE, 1814-1881.

By Irene Collins. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. 201 pp. 30s.

Tocqueville saw the French Restoration as a long struggle between the press and the ancien régime, until the press triumphed with the revolution of 1830, and many other people have seen the rôle of the press in this period as being of outstanding importance. Newspapers like *Le Globe*, and supporters of the liberty of the press like Royer-Collard and Chateaubriand are well known. But the period after 1830 has been less well studied, and it is very valuable to have a book covering the period from the downfall of Napoleon to the law of 1881 which abolished all the long-standing restrictions on the press. Mrs. Collins particularly studies the laws and decrees which concerned the publication of newspapers, and the ways in which these regulations were enforced. She has used as her principal source of information the relevant administrative and judicial records in the Archives Nationales.

Although this is not a history of the French press, there is a great deal of information about various newspapers and the men who ran them: one learns about changes in printing techniques and about the value of advertising; one learns a lot about French society in the first half of the nineteenth century when one realizes how small were the circulations and how fragile the financing of many of these publications, which had great political importance. This is therefore a revealing book and any criticisms must be secondary to one's realization of its value. Nevertheless, it is true to say that there is a great deal more to be said about the relations between governments and the press than appears in a statute. One has to study not only the question of subsidy and the buying of 'abonnements', but also the supplying of information (particularly in matters of foreign affairs), and the ways in which the government could look after the interests of leading shareholders. It is also interesting to study how a newspaper which is usually 'ministériel' will occasionally oppose the government on some specific issue. One wonders too whether Mrs. Collins has tried to understand the real nature of French newspapers. Prévost-Paradol (about whom there is surprisingly little in this book) believed that even if French laws were the same as

English, the French press would be quite different from the English: one would like to know whether the laws are to be explained by the nature of the press, or the press by the laws. Perhaps it is not unfair to express one's disappointment that someone with this author's knowledge has not tried to tackle this sort of question.

University of Birmingham

DOUGLAS JOHNSON

LES VIGNERONS DE LA 'CÔTE D'OR' AU XIXE SIÈCLE. By Robert Laurent.

Paris: Société Les Belles Lettres. 1958. 2 vols. 572, 283 pp.

The research methods inaugurated by M. Labrousse in his now classic study of the viticultural crisis of the reign of Louis XVI have been intensively applied by M. Laurent of the University of Montpellier to a famous region which, while constituting only 13 per cent. of the department of that name, contains two-thirds of its vineyards. His masterly doctoral thesis is a rich contribution to the social and economic history of France from the end of the old régime to 1914. His detailed analysis of a large and often intractable mass of documentary material from departmental, municipal and private archives throws a flood of light on such matters as changes in the distribution of property consequent upon the sale of national lands during the Revolution, crop yields, channels of trade, and the revenues of the vine-growers in terms of purchasing power and living standards. The true measure of the remarkable skill and ingenuity of M. Laurent's achievement will be gained only by reading his full discussion of research methods and problems, and by perusing the tables and graphs in the second volume, which will be of great value to specialists.

Until the Second Empire the history of viticulture in the region is one of a slow transition from the collective methods of cultivation of the old régime such as the practice of proclaiming the wine-harvest (the *ban des vendanges*). Thereafter, change became more rapid on account of new commercial methods, and especially of the coming of steam navigation and the railways. It is significant that from 1856 onwards the first steps were taken to protect the quality of the wines and their *appellations d'origine*. The real economic revolution in the Côte d'Or, however, was brought about by the phylloxera disease of 1878 and the succeeding years. This blight considerably reduced the cultivation of the lower-quality vine (*gamay*) because the value of its product was insufficient to meet the high cost of treating it with carbon bisulphide, with the result that the better-quality vine (*pinot*) became predominant. The old type of vineyard, with the plants growing in clumps, was replaced by the linear type of cultivation which is now familiar to all who travel through Burgundy, and systematic grafting took place. These changes, however, called for greater man-power and capital: a vine-grower needed to have three or four *hectares*, which was twice the amount of land held previously, in order to be able to pay for the cost of new materials, especially ploughs. The large-scale vine-growers were thus better placed than the small, although the latter protected themselves and held their own to some extent by means of co-operative societies, the emergence of which was one of the most important consequences of the crisis. Another important consequence of the phylloxera disease was a change in marketing conditions. The ordinary wines of the Midi being temporarily freed from the competition of Burghundies acquired at their expense new markets, to which access was much

facilitated by the development of railways. It proved to be impossible for the Côte d'Or to compete in this sector on account of the comparatively limited amount of land available for cultivation of the vine, and it concentrated on the production of high-quality wines and on securing their protection by a whole series of increasingly effective legislative measures and by the control of local organizations.

The last part of the thesis is a novel examination of the rôle of the vine-growers in French public life. This was of little significance prior to the granting of universal suffrage: from the First to the Second Empire the vine-growers were uninterested in political ideologies and preoccupied with the duties on wine (the *droits réunis*) which were reminiscent of the *aides* of the old régime. During the Second Empire, however, wine-producing cantons became increasingly restive, and the movement to the left became still more marked during the Third Republic.

London School of Economics

ALUN DAVIES

THE ENGLISH UTILITARIANS AND INDIA. By Eric Stokes. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1958. xvi + 350 pp. 45s.

Professor Stokes has written a stimulating, indeed an exciting book. Differently handled, his theme might well have been the subject of a narrowly circumscribed monograph, interesting the specialist but no one else. In fact, his book, besides commanding the attention of two groups of specialists—historians of British India and of political ideas—should interest a much wider circle of readers. This is not to say that the book makes concessions of a ‘popular’ character. The scholarship is rigorous and satisfying. But it has a quality characteristic (one would like to think) of all the best scholarship: it raises questions and provokes reflection in many different directions. A book on this subject naturally does this in respect of such matters as imperial government and the interconnections of theory and practice in politics. But other interests too are stimulated—in the conflict between tradition and reform, for example, or the implications of Ricardian economics, or the connection between reforming zeal and authoritarian inclinations. The book is not an easy one, but it has, in full measure, ‘the fascination of what’s difficult’.

To criticize Professor Stokes’s work as a whole on the basis of specialized knowledge would demand a rare combination of skills. The present reviewer can write only as a student of the history of ideas; and the first comment must be that Professor Stokes has made a genuinely original contribution to that subject. He is perhaps a little less than just when he speaks of ‘the prevalent tendency to be interested in the Utilitarians solely as abstract moral and political theorists’. There has been no lack of awareness that such an interpretation can only misrepresent them. But it is still true that by far the greater part of Professor Stokes’s analysis of the influence of Bentham and James Mill upon British administration in India will reveal a *terra incognita* to most students of political thought. And in this new context the Utilitarian doctrine can be seen afresh and evaluated in healthy isolation from the somewhat stale atmosphere of British radicalism. Not the least interesting effect of this new assessment is that it restores to their true stature the ‘founding fathers’ Bentham and James Mill. At home the movement they launched may soon have run into the sand, the doctrine they propagated

may seem no more than a rigid orthodoxy against which James Mill's son, 'the saint of rationalism', rebelled. In India one can see anew the vigour and, in a sense, the grandeur of the original Utilitarian conception—'to rear the fabric of felicity by the hands of reason and of law'.

Professor Stokes writes with an enviable mastery of his material, not least of the voluminous and discouraging works of Jeremy Bentham himself. When so much is given it is perhaps mere greed to wish for more; but the appetite is less fully satisfied than elsewhere in the treatment of John Stuart Mill. His place in the book as a whole is properly a minor one in view of the limited extent of his direct influence on Indian government. But in the general discussion towards the end of the book the younger Mill is seen too much through the eyes of Fitzjames Stephen. Mill's assumptions were not really those of 'popular liberalism'; nor did he incline as strongly as is here suggested to 'the assumption of the natural and spontaneous identification of human interests'. But this is a minor point in an outstanding book which deserves to be read and to be read more than once.

University of Aberdeen

J. H. BURNS

CHARTIST STUDIES. Edited by Asa Briggs. London: Macmillan. 1959.

viii + 423 pp. 42s.

'A study of Chartism', as Professor Briggs says, 'must begin with a proper appreciation of regional and local diversity', since in early Victorian Britain there were marked local variations of social and economic structure which influenced the character of the movement. In this volume he has assembled ten essays by different scholars, each embodying the results of much valuable research. There are seven regional studies, of Chartism in Manchester, Leeds, Leicester, Suffolk, Wiltshire with Somerset, Wales and Glasgow respectively, and three chapters on more general themes—the Chartist Land Plan, the relations between the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law League, and the attitude of the Government towards Chartism. The editor himself contributes two linking chapters, of which in this limited space all that can be said is that they strengthen his already strong claim to write eventually that new and full narrative history of the Chartist movement which must rest on the basis of many sectional and local studies such as these.

Space also prevents separate consideration of all the contributions, but all are the fruit of solid and systematic spade-work (not to say haystack-searching in the case of Suffolk; but haystack-searching has its points when it proves that there are no more than two or three needles in your haystack). In one or two cases one might wish for more effective marshalling and presentation of the facts; but there are a greater number of chapters which leave nothing to be desired on this score. Selection is therefore invidious, but even the briefest notice must make mention of Miss MacAskill's study of the Land Plan, Mr. F. C. Mather's of the Government and the Chartists, Mr. Donald Read's of Chartism in Manchester and Mr. J. F. C. Harrison's of the movement in Leicester—though he twice confuses the brothers John and William Biggs (it was the latter, prominent as a local Radical leader before his elder brother, who produced the Midland Counties Charter) and not all of the conclusions in his penetrating commentary on the facts are as original as they might seem to the uninformed reader.

University of Southampton

A. TEMPLE PATTERSON

IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF NAPOLEON III (London: Macmillan, 1958. 196 pp. 24s.) Dr. T. Zeldin has attempted to provide a 'structure of politics' for the Second Empire. He is to be congratulated on the zeal with which he has explored a great quantity of archives, both public and private. What can be said about a political system based on official candidatures is mainly limited to illustrating the methods by which the administration secured the election of its nominees, but even under Napoleon III politics was not unaffected by such matters as the Italian War, the Roman question, the Cobden Treaty, the financial crisis, or the Mexican adventure. Dr. Zeldin manages to describe the decline of the Napoleonic political system without mentioning any of these. This is characteristic of the school of parliamentary analysis on which he seems to be modelling his methods. It is even more curious that he hardly mentions Rouher, who was so influential that the wits at one stage declared Napoleon III to have not a 'gouvernement' but a 'Rouhernement', although his papers are included in the bibliography. But it would not be reasonable to expect more than an introduction to some aspects of the subject in 168 pages, and this Dr. Zeldin has given us in a lively and even brilliant manner.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

WILLIAM THOMSON ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: HIS LIFE AND TIMES, 1819-1890 (London: S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society, 1958. 190 pp. 35s.) by H. Kirk-Smith is a workmanlike, unadventurous biography (to call it a 'Life and Times' is really going a bit far) of the humbly-born Oxford don who, after only two years at Gloucester, and while still the youngest of the bishops, ascended the throne of York in 1863. Of his work as bishop, and of his often creditable interest in the main social and political movements of his day, it gives a clear and useful account, marked by some indecisiveness and naïvety and by the evident limitations of the author's own interests and sympathies. But Mr. Kirk-Smith quite successfully shows where this rather perplexing prelate's strengths and weaknesses lay, and makes out a good case for viewing him as no less capable and invigorating a diocesan than the better-known Samuel Wilberforce.

Trinity Hall, Cambridge

G. F. A. BEST

EDWARD T. CARDWELL: PEELITE. By Arvel B. Erickson. Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. New Series, Vol. 49, Part 2. 1959. 107 pp. \$2.

In his Preface Professor Erickson tells us that this book 'is a study of the rôle played by Edward T. Cardwell in English political life in the mid-Victorian era'. There is certainly room for a book on Cardwell. Although he did not possess qualities which would fit him to fill the highest political office, he was both highly valued and trusted by Aberdeen, Palmerston and Gladstone, all of whom were glad to have him as a member of their governments. As Secretary for War in Gladstone's first administration Cardwell's name will always be coupled with that of Haldane's as an army reformer of outstanding ability. Unfortunately it cannot be said that this is a good book. There is little critical analysis or appreciation either of the problems which confronted Cardwell or of the proposals which he put forward for dealing with them.

The author has chosen to compile a detailed record of the statesman's activities in the various offices which he held, to summarize the speeches made in parliament both for and against the measures which he sponsored, and to refer to press opinions about his policy. The result is a flat narrative which is sometimes confused and tedious, and in which it is always difficult to see the wood for trees. Moreover, the work is marred by a poor style, jargon and unsound generalizations. In spite of these shortcomings Professor Erickson has put students of nineteenth-century British politics in his debt. It is clear from his admirable bibliography that he has read extensively in his subject. He has used his sources to throw light upon topics which are often neglected, and has passed in review the policies, beliefs and achievements of a statesman who occupied many offices—Cardwell was at the Board of Trade, a Chief Secretary for Ireland, and at the Colonial Office, before he became Secretary of State for War—and who, if cautious sometimes to the point of timidity, was efficient in all he did and, as Professor Erickson shows, was inspired by a deep sense of public duty.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

J. ALUN THOMAS

ELECTIONS AND PARTY MANAGEMENT: POLITICS IN THE TIME OF DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE. By H. J. Hanham. London: Longmans. 1959. xvii + 468 pp. 50s.

This is a book which will be read with interest by those who are curious about the way in which elections were organized and political parties managed during the thirteen years after the passing of the second Reform Bill. Dr. Hanham shows that bribery was as much an evil in the days of Gladstone as it had been earlier, and that in the case of many county constituencies the seat was still in the giving of a wealthy landowning magnate to whose opinions freeholders as well as tenant farmers were prepared to defer. He also shows that some borough constituencies would be within the gift of a patron who would have a dominant interest there; in others the leading citizens would choose a candidate because he was wealthy and therefore, when elected, could be approached for contributions to local charities and even for support of local industrial enterprises—the member for many a borough was elected not because the majority of the electors liked his politics but because he was known to have a well-filled pocket and a generous disposition. In many a small town an election would be harvest time for the voter. The pinnacle of success would be achieved when a contest was arranged between two wealthy candidates, for then the harvest would indeed be a rich one—drink would flow freely and much food would be consumed at the candidate's expense. Dr. Hanham has succeeded in showing that the year 1867 did not mark the beginning of a new epoch in British political life. The old habits and practices persisted, bribery was still an evil, and 'interest' still returned members to parliament.

The candidates chosen, the constituency had to be 'organized'; for as in our own day so then the importance of organization was well understood. Dr. Hanham shows that attention had to be paid to the Register of electors. It was the task of the Registration Agent, usually a solicitor, to see that the names of known party supporters got on and that the names of known opponents were kept off the Register. There was also the election agent to whom would be entrusted such tasks as conducting a canvass of the voters,

making arrangements to bring party supporters to the poll, engaging committee rooms and so on.

In addition to these local party activities there emerged during the late 'fifties a central party organization. The general oversight of party matters had hitherto been the concern of the Chief Whip who often sought the advice and assistance of free-lance election agents. In 1857 the Liberal party following the example set by its Conservative rival appointed a Principal Parliamentary Agent, and thus the need to have recourse to the free-lance agent was dispensed with. And so it came about that the names of Rose and Spofforth on the Conservative, and of Drake on the Liberal side now came to acquire an importance which did not attach to the names of Bonham and Coppock some few years earlier.

This book ought to be read along with *Politics in the Age of Peel*, for between them Professor Gash and Dr. Hanham have succeeded in throwing light upon an obscure aspect of British political history. Like most books this, too, has its weaknesses. It is not an easy book to read and there is little in it about the way in which party within the Commons was managed. But in spite of these, and perhaps other shortcomings, the research which has gone into the writing of this treatise is of the highest quality, and having read it one is left with the feeling that it will long remain the most satisfactory book on the topic with which it deals.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

J. ALUN THOMAS

WALTER BAGEHOT. By Norman St. John-Stevas. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1959. xvi + 485 pp. 36s. THE SPARE CHANCELLOR: THE LIFE OF WALTER BAGEHOT. By Alastair Buchan. London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. 287 pp. 25s.

We are in some danger nowadays of making the mid-Victorian scene the object of an uncritical and disingenuous admiration. The disingenuity lies in this, that we are apt to select what pleases us and to ignore the rest. We are careful to see the merits of the closely knit family life but less careful to see that it depended in the last resort on a system of family law which few of us would wish to have re-enacted. We envy the comfort and calm in which we suppose our ancestors to have lived and conveniently overlook the boredom and the hypocrisy, the deadening limitations on so many lives, the physical ailments for which there was no remedy. And in all this Bagehot unwittingly abets us. He is the cultivated, companionable man; shrewd but humane; well informed but never ponderous; decorous but not priggish; fundamentally serious but felicitously witty. On the assumption that mid-Victorian England contained a large number of Bagehots it would have been a pleasant and enlivening place to live in. It had its Bagehots, of course, but it had also a great many narrow, obstinate men, prone to take short cuts to their objectives whether those were the good of humanity at large or their personal gain and glory. The rigid Sabbatarians, the rabid teetotallers, the readers of the *Record*, the men who courted bribes at elections and flocked to public executions were of the pith and marrow of the scene. Under the seduction of Bagehot we are inclined to overlook them.

This means that Bagehot has to be treated with care and it is to the credit of Dr. St. John-Stevas and Mr. Buchan that they have not tried to hide his weaknesses and his limitations. Dr. St. John-Stevas furnishes a short

biographical note and a longer commentary, but the greater part of his book consists of some of Bagehot's more notable writings. Any such selection is bound to attract criticism: there might have been a case for re-printing some of the articles on financial and economic subjects which Bagehot wrote for *The Economist*, especially as they are more difficult to come by than, for instance, *The English Constitution*. Dr. St. John-Stevens's commentary on that book is careful and valuable. What it does not wholly bring out is the narrowness of Bagehot's examination. He dealt with the Monarchy, the Lords, the Commons and the Cabinet: on local government, the colonies, the legal system, the police—all relevant topics—he had little or nothing to say. The index to Dr. St. John-Stevens's book is really useable (a rare merit) and he has given us a serviceable bibliography. But what strictures on the Civil Service does one find in *The Way We Live Now*?

Mr. Buchan's book contains a few errors. What he calls 'the Bedchamber plot' took place in 1839, not in 1838; the implication that Oxford and Cambridge had forgotten by 1842 to teach mathematics cannot be accepted; Freeman's initials were E. A., not A. E.; and there is a startling misprint in the quotation on p. 192. But these slips scarcely detract from the merits of a sensitive piece of biography which covers Bagehot's views on financial policy as well as on political and literary subjects. Mr. Buchan is aware that Bagehot's 'jocosity' can occasionally be irritating and suggests that it may have been the deliberate defence of a man whose mother was subject to intermittent bouts of insanity and who was himself affected by a deep-seated melancholy. He is aware, also, of some of Bagehot's limitations—his ignorance of the United States, his complacent superiority towards French society and letters, his failure to realize the importance of the party system. His strength, Mr. Buchan concludes, was 'in the desire to comprehend, and the ability to elucidate, the workings of a complex society'. One must agree, with the reservation (which Mr. Buchan would not contest) that Bagehot was neither infallible nor omniscient. He was blind to the depths of passion in Peel; he could never see George III or Spencer Perceval as other than grotesque nuisances; the mentality of the Tories during the Napoleonic War was something he took no pains to understand; on the other hand he lavished praise on that narrow *doctrinaire*, G. C. Lewis. But Bagehot would have been the last man to claim infallibility and these two sensible and moderate books serve his reputation better than undiscriminating praise would have done.

King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne

W. L. BURN

POWER, PUBLIC OPINION AND DIPLOMACY, edited by Lillian Parker Wallace and William C. Askew (Duke University Press: C.U.P. 1959. xiv + 421 pp. 65s. 6d.), is a volume of essays published in honour of Professor E. M. Carroll, who recently retired after thirty-six years' service at Duke University. He has devoted himself principally to the history of international relations since 1871 and the bibliography which accompanies these essays testifies to the extent and variety of his contributions.

Professor Carroll has always had a particular interest in looking beyond the official documents to examine the various factors which go to make up a nation's foreign policy, not least that which is called public opinion. However, as one of the contributors to this volume points out, it is not easy to

discover what public opinion at a given moment is and so assess its importance. The historian has usually to fall back on an analysis of the contemporary press, as is done here, e.g., very usefully, in connection with British opinion and Belgian neutrality in the year 1887. On the whole, perhaps, 'Public Opinion' as a factor in national policy receives more attention in these essays than 'Power', especially where governments which had less need than parliamentary democracies to consult it are involved. The reader may well feel this most strongly when he reaches the three essays dealing with the 1930s. These examine Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland, the French reaction to the Spanish Civil War and British policy towards Russia, April–August 1939. Nevertheless, all three at least reveal the essential connection between the two factors, whether the writers are dealing with Blum's Spanish policy or the advice given by General Gamelin to the French government in March 1936. Indeed, any judgement on French policy in this year must surely take into consideration the 'Public Opinion' during the late '20s which had transformed and reduced the 'Power' which Gamelin had at his disposal.

Seven essays deal in various ways with Palmerston (his relations with Pius IX, 1846–9); Bismarck; Belgium (as mentioned above); Egypt as a factor in power politics (1875–8); Grey (facing his critics, especially over Persia); Lloyd George and British war aims, 1914–18, as well as a more general study of 'constants' in Russian policy. It is a notable collection which anyone interested in the relevant period would be well advised to consult.

University of Sheffield

J. E. TYLER

MATTHIAS ERZBERGER AND THE DILEMMA OF GERMAN DEMOCRACY. By

Klaus Epstein. Princeton: University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1959. xiii + 473 pp. 8os.

Matthias Erzberger, the most brilliant, influential and controversial political *arriviste* of Imperial Germany, has long stood in need of a scholarly biography. For he has been judged hitherto largely on the basis of his own or his enemies' writings about his activities. Using the Erzberger papers in the *Bundesarchiv*, the Karl Bachem papers in the Cologne *Stadtarchiv*, the verbatim reports of the famous Erzberger–Helfferich libel trial, and Erzberger's own voluminous writings, together with many published works by Erzberger's contemporaries, Dr. Epstein has now written a detached and almost monumental study of the man and his career.

From Dr. Epstein's pages Erzberger emerges neither as a saint (except possibly in the narrowest sense of a man whose deep religious beliefs tended always to transcend his political convictions), nor as one more sinned against than sinning. (There is, indeed, in the life of this gifted individual much that is downright sordid: one need only mention his offer of Prussian titles and decorations in return for donations to the Vatican in 1915, or his wartime political activities on behalf of German firms in which he was financially interested.) Up to a point Erzberger was motivated by high moral principles: in his early Reichstag years he pursued his campaign against colonial abuses to a point which alarmed the older Zentrum leaders; after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk he was the sternest critic of German brutality in the Ukraine. Yet, before the war, he showed little awareness of the errors of German foreign policy—especially the omission to try to reach some understanding

with Great Britain; and much of his wartime diplomatic activity as Bethmann's special envoy (e.g. his three missions to Rome to try to keep Italy neutral in 1915 and his attempt to promote a separate peace between Germany and Russia in the spring of 1917) ended in failure. One wonders, indeed, whether his lack of international stature made his selection as Armistice Commissioner in November 1918 a wise one.

Dr. Epstein never loses his sense of proportion or the main thread of his narrative in his mass of material, and his book is most readable. It is, however, a pity to find a work of such scholarship marred by misspellings like 'Dreyfuss' and 'Strassbourg'.

C. J. CHILD

THE ECONOMIC BLOCKADE, vol. ii. By W. N. Medlicott. London: H.M.S.O. and Longmans. 1959. xiv + 727 pp. 50s.

This volume completes Professor Medlicott's massive contribution to the 'U.K. Civil series' of the *History of the Second World War*. The first volume, published in 1952, described the false hopes and limited results of what in 1939 had been considered Britain's secret weapon, the blockade, 'adorned and transmogrified with a new name', economic warfare. In July 1941, when this volume begins, and even more after Pearl Harbour, it was the Americans' turn to expect too much from blockade, believing that it could be used to coerce the neutrals into a blockade of their own against Germany. The Ministry of Economic Warfare was thenceforth engaged on three fronts. There was the diplomacy involved in achieving common policies with the Americans, who were inclined to be tougher towards Spain, tenderer towards the South American republics and over relief schemes for occupied France and Greece. There was the diplomacy—and most of the Ministry's work was diplomatic—of negotiating trade agreements both to limit Germany's supplies and to increase our own, backed up by arrangements for pre-emptive and preclusive purchase and by threats of withholding supplies and black-listing firms. Portugal and Turkey, Britain's allies, were the least accommodating, Sweden and Switzerland and Spain the most ticklish countries to deal with. And there was the blockade itself, with its navicerts and interceptions and control bases and the work of the Navy and the R.A.F. The blockade was not complete until June 1944; its effects, summarized in the last chapter, were 'not a negligible factor in the Allied war effort' though 'at no stage of the war was Germany decisively weakened by shortages due to the blockade alone'. Altogether it is an interesting and rewarding story. Blockade runners and smuggling (especially of industrial diamonds and platinum from South America) appear; chrome and wolfram bulk large; alphabetical agencies multiply; and jolly-sounding concerns like the Spanish CAMPSA and CEPSA enliven the closely-written pages.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

C. L. MOWAT

It was more than once alleged by those who wanted to annoy George II that he sacrificed the interests of England to those of Hanover; however, George's Hanoverian counsellors knew that their master was not always free to do what he wanted and that he could not always take their advice. English historians have said much less about Hanover than might have been expected. In his **FRIEDRICH DER GROSSE UND HANNOVER IN IHREM GEGENSEITIGEN**

URTEIL (Hildesheim: August Lax. 1958. 110 pp. DM. 8) Dr. Hans Portzek contributes a little towards filling the gap they have left. With what has been printed in English he is, however, imperfectly acquainted. The fact that none of the writings of Sir Richard Lodge appears in his bibliography is significant.

In his main work, *Le Mouvement Physiocratique en France de 1756 à 1770* (2 vols. 1910), Georges Weulersse studied not only the thought of the Physiocrats but also their lives, their associations and their influence on France and Europe. In *LA PHYSIOCRATIE A LA FIN DU REGNE DE LOUIS XV* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. xii + 238 pp.), he writes only of their rather arid, repetitive intellectual life with hardly more than a few references to their influence and activities. These posthumous pages add little to his achievement.

DR. JENNER OF BERKELEY by Dorothy Fisk (London: Heinemann. 1959. vii + 288 pp. 25s.) is, for the general reader, a useful and pleasantly written introduction to the career of an interesting pioneer of medicine. This is not a scholar's book: ascertainable fact is here and there interspersed with imaginative anecdote, and there are one or two bad blunders.

The final stages in the winding up of the Holy Roman Empire, and in particular Napoleon's part in the dissolution of that time-honoured institution, are discussed briefly by Professor Helmuth Rössler in *NAPOLEONS GRIFF NACH DER KARLSKRONE. DAS ENDE DES ALTEN REICHS 1806*. (Munich: Janus-Bücher, Verlag R. Oldenbourg. 1957. 95 pp. DM. 3.20). In a concluding chapter the author touches on the amazing metamorphoses of the *Reichsidee* from 1806 up to 1933.

An excellent explanation of the significance of the most famous case in French history is provided by Pierre Miquel in *L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS* (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 'Que sais-je?'. 1959. 128pp.)

Italy has been tardier than the other Western Powers in publishing official collections of diplomatic documents—not because her foreign office archives hold more guilty secrets than do theirs, but because the Fascist régime scorned such pandering to notions of democratic control of foreign policy. The Italian Republic, however, having already made ample amends with a magnificent collection of diplomatic documents, has further embarked on a comparable series of colonial documents, of which the first volume is now published: *L'ITALIA IN AFRICA*, serie storica, volume primo, *ETIOPIA—MAR ROSSO*, tomo I (1857–1885) by Carlo Giglio (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato. 1958. xxv + 483 pp. lire 2000 in wrappers, lire 2500 in cloth). Primarily designed to introduce the volumes of documents which will shortly follow, on the beginnings of Italian colonial expansion, it also provides an excellent survey of those activities and of the international repercussions to which they gave rise. The series promises to be both a major achievement in its own field of colonial history and an invaluable source collection for students in the wider sphere of modern international relations.

The merits of QUEEN MARY 1867-1953 (London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 685 pp. 42s.), by J. Pope-Hennessy have been justly recognized elsewhere. Here a word should be said in appreciation of a contemporary biography—let alone a royal one—which is written both honestly and tastefully, and which gives references for its quotations.

THE AMERICAS

Dr. R. J. Shafer's THE ECONOMIC SOCIETIES OF THE SPANISH WORLD (1763-1821) (Syracuse University Press. 1958. 416 pp. \$5) is an excellent piece of work. The societies—some seventy of them in Spain and a dozen or so in Spanish America—are the Sociedades Económicas de los Amigos del País, which, except for the earlier Basque Society, made their appearance in Spain in the 1770s and began to be established in Spanish America in the 1780s. They owed their origin in part to the example of societies and academies elsewhere—the Royal Society of London, the Society of Dublin, and the Royal Societies of Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg. And they were a direct reflection of the penetration into Spain and Spanish America of what are commonly called 'the ideas of the Enlightenment'. Their primary concern was economic. The American societies, for example—and it is to them that Dr. Shafer devotes the major part of his book—were above all interested in the improvement of local economic conditions and the development of local economic resources. But they were interested also in the promotion of useful knowledge in general. Thus the Havana Society, inaugurated in 1793, established a public library and superintended a girls' school, and the Guatemala Society, dating from 1794, not only founded schools for spinning, drawing and mathematics, it offered a prize for a 'memorial, dissertation, or apologetic discourse in favour of American literature' and another for the best demonstration of the question 'What is the true state of letters in Guatemala and the means of advancing them?'

As Dr. Shafer shows, the membership of the American societies was never large; few of them lasted long; and their operations disappointed their founders. But they are none the less worth study for that. Dr. Shafer is to be congratulated on his systematic exploitation of the materials relating to them and on a book which illuminates both the intellectual and the economic history of Spain and the empire in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. It should be read side by side with Jean Sarailh's *L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle* and Richard Herr's *The Eighteenth Century Revolution in Spain*.

University College, London

R. A. HUMPHREYS

THE HISTORY OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1670-1870. Vol. I, 1670-1763. By E. E. Rich. London: Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1958. xii + 687 pp.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society's volumes are known for their fine paper and beautiful bindings: they are, one suspects, more often handled than read. Most of them contain documents of interest only to specialists and, since they rigorously omit nothing, include a high proportion of dead matter. Professor

Rich has been general editor of this series for many years and has now written the first volume of a history of the Company designed to cover the two centuries 1670 to 1870. The binding and paper are familiar and at first sight the reader might suppose that, with 661 pages to tell less than a century of the story of this 'quiet, well-ordered and by no means spectacular company' the proportion of dead matter would be the same. This is not so, though more pruning might have been undertaken even in an official history. The main distinction of the treatment lies in the book's international flavour. In the first place, Hudson's Bay was the battleground where Anglo-French colonial rivalry found its earliest serious expression, a curtain-raiser to the conflicts of the mid-eighteenth century. As later, the English owed their success in the Bay to seapower and seamanship. The French effort lay in the extraordinary achievements of the *coureurs de bois* and the priests, and when Quebec fell these availed them little. The fact is that the French did not want Hudson's Bay and did not know how to exploit it: they only wanted the English out of it. Secondly, fur (though less important than sugar or tobacco) was a colonial product with a market spread across Northern Europe: in the fluctuations of the re-export trade the trading interests of rival nations are mirrored. Professor Rich gives much space to the French side of the story and his book is a contribution to the welcome process whereby histories of the Atlantic, America and the West Indies are ceasing to be national and becoming international. Nothing later than 1870 is to be written 'for the moment', that being the date beyond which the Company's archives are not normally open. Professor Rich finds this arrangement 'entirely acceptable' but it does not help the painful and protracted campaign to persuade governments to open their archives to find private enterprise lagging so far behind. The history is at present for members of the society only. One hopes that the commercial edition which is to follow will be a shortened version, for only so is the story of the Company likely to reach the public it deserves.

New College, Oxford

K. G. DAVIES

ROYAL FORT FRONTENAC. Ed. R. A. Preston and L. Lamontagne. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1958. 503 pp.

KINGSTON BEFORE THE WAR OF 1812. Ed. Richard A. Preston. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1959. cxvi + 428 pp.

LORD SELKIRK'S DIARY 1803-4. Ed. P. C. T. White. Toronto: Champlain Society. 1958. 359 pp.

JOURNEY TO THE NORTHERN OCEAN, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772. By Samuel Hearne. Ed. Richard Glover. Toronto: Macmillan. 1958. lxxii + 301 pp. 42s.

Perhaps the best justification for writing local history is the contribution it may make to a better comprehension of regional or even national history. Both *Royal Fort Frontenac* and *Kingston before the War of 1812* concern two distinct pioneer periods in the history of a backwoods town, strategically placed at the juncture of the St. Lawrence River and Lake Ontario. The former is a compilation of documents based principally on collections in the *Archives des Colonies* and *Archives de la Marine* in Paris (copies in the Canadian Public Archives), and embracing 'all the available information' connected with the first royal military and commercial post established by the French in

the present province of Ontario; the latter volume concerns a second period of frontier existence—the foundation and growth of a United Empire Loyalist settlement following the war of the American Revolution. Both provide, under judicious editorship, the 'raw meat' of local or community history; inevitably, both cover some familiar ground, for Kingston has always been prominent in the national story; (indeed, the Introduction to the first volume amounts to a survey, in eighty-two pages, of the history of New France from 1610 to 1759, a bold but exceedingly risky venture in the light of much recent research and some conflicting evidence); yet both, by the discovery of unknown, or the re-discovery of forgotten material, contribute substantially to the printed documentation of Canadian development. In addition to the excellent translations by Professor Preston, *Royal Fort Frontenac* also contains the original French texts, 190 in number. The Government of Ontario are to be congratulated on financing, within the Champlain Society programme, this separate series of pioneer local histories.

Among the many great Scotsmen who contributed to the making of Canada, Lord Selkirk was one of the most effective and one of the most endearing. With evangelical zeal he pursued his grand imperial colonization schemes, but he had only one spectacular success—the settlement by impoverished Highlanders of the Red River Valley in Manitoba (1812-13). This *Diary* concerns his two earlier ventures, one in Prince Edward Island in 1803, which succeeded with the help of Lord Hobart, and the second (which failed), at Baldoon on Lake St. Clare (Ontario) where he hoped to build up a strategic defence belt against American penetration from the south-west. Selkirk had no literary talents like his fellow promoter, John Galt; his diary is a simple, day-by-day business man's account of life and manners, and the problems, legal as well as physical, to be encountered by callow immigrants and their patrons. As a source of early nineteenth-century Maritimes' history, it should be especially useful.

Samuel Hearne remains one of the most distinguished North American travellers, and his *Journey to the Northern Ocean* (first edited by J. B. Tyrrell as a Champlain Society volume in 1911) is a classic of exploration that has been long out of print. The essential object of Hearne's journey in the early 1770s was to confirm the discovery of copper ore near the mouth of the Coppermine River, and to find out whether, in view of the enormous transportation difficulties, it was worth commercial exploitation. He brought back a sensibly negative verdict, but this was of minor importance compared with the rich treasures he accumulated in terms of native (Chipewyan) life and customs, and the flora and fauna of the unfriendly North. Professor Glover's introduction and notes are worthy of his theme; he writes with care and distinction; speculates with a decent diffidence, and brings to bear on the wild life of the Barren Lands the love and learning of a true naturalist.

King's College, London

G. S. GRAHAM

THE UNITED STATES NAVY IN THE PACIFIC, 1897-1909 (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1958. xii + 282 pp. \$5) by William Reynolds Braisted is of interest to students of Far Eastern and European history as well as of American history. Based upon hitherto little-used military and naval records, especially the minutes of the Navy General Board and the Joint Board, and the reports of the Office of Naval Intelligence, it examines the inter-relation

of naval and diplomatic policies during an important stage in their formulation. Mr. Braisted finds that those policies usually went hand-in-hand, as during the Boxer Rebellion and the Russo-Japanese War, and conflicted on only one clear issue—the establishment of an advanced naval base in China from which operations against European fleets could be conducted and an attack on the Philippines intercepted. This possibility was opposed by the State Department for fear of arousing Chinese nationalism against the United States, and eventually its view triumphed. In fact, far from dictating foreign policy, the Navy exercised influence rather of a negative kind: when naval considerations determined U.S. policy in the Far East it was on account of the limitations of the Navy's power. American naval strategists were more concerned with a possible challenge to the Monroe Doctrine, particularly from Germany, than with the Russian threat to the Open Door in Manchuria or with the security of the Philippines. They concentrated on the Caribbean, and were unwilling to play a more active rôle in Asia even after the change in the strategic picture consequent upon Japan's victories in 1904–5 and the withdrawal of the battle fleets of the European powers in order to concentrate on home waters. The growth of American–Japanese tension and the world cruise of the U.S. fleet in 1907–9 resulted in no change in the basic naval policy, and Pearl Harbour was settled upon as the chief base in the Pacific. It was a policy which was matched on the diplomatic level by the Root-Takahira arrangement of November 1908 whereby the United States and Japan agreed to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific.

Mr. Braisted's promised continuation of his study will make still more interesting reading, particularly after 1918 when the German danger was eliminated and the United States enabled to station a battle fleet in the Pacific. This, together with the growth of both the United States and Japanese navies during that war, opened a period of increasingly acute tension which culminated in December 1941.

London School of Economics

ALUN DAVIES

Commissioned for the centenary of the founding of British Columbia, Margaret A. Ormsby's *BRITISH COLUMBIA: A HISTORY* (London: Macmillan, 1959. 558 pp. 30s.) tells the story of Canada's Pacific Coast from the first visits of Russian, Spanish and British ships in the eighteenth century. Well produced, with an abundance of maps, prints and photographs, it draws upon the author's own researches. She has blended narrative and analysis with great skill, and it will be long before the book is superseded.

No two nations could be more unlike each other than Frederick II's Prussia and the United States of America. Yet the publication of selections from the Prussian diplomatic correspondence of 1782–3, *AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE THROUGH PRUSSIAN EYES*, edited by Marvin L. Brown, Jr. (Duke University Press: C.U.P. 1959. xvii + 216 pp. 37s. 6d.), shows that Frederick watched American developments with a keen and realistic interest. His envoys, Lusi in London, Goltz in Paris, were intelligent and close observers, but on the whole the student who is already familiar with the period is not likely to learn much of substance that he did not already know. It is useful, however, to be reminded how much the American war was interlocked with

Continental European affairs and how interesting its outcome could be to neutrals.

A valuable guide to the exploration of the Old South appears in volume three of *TRAVELS IN THE OLD SOUTH, A BIBLIOGRAPHY*, sub-titled *THE ANTE BELLUM SOUTH, 1825-1860, COTTON, SLAVERY AND CONFLICT* and edited by Thomas D. Clark (University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. 400 pp. \$10). The first two volumes, 1527 to 1825, were published as a set in 1956. The present work is wide in its range, ample and useful in its annotation, and appears in the form of a handsome and well-made volume.

Frederick Law Olmsted's accounts of his travels in the Old South remain indispensable to the study of that society. A few years ago they were edited, in one volume, by Professor Schlesinger; now they have been potted. Professor Harvey Wish, in *THE SLAVE STATES (BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR)* by Olmsted (New York: Capricorn Book, Putnam's. 1959. 255 pp. cloth, \$2.50) has excerpted a large selection of scenes and conversations and added an introduction. The substance of the information, no doubt, is still there; but editorial neatness, organization and brevity do not altogether compensate for the loss of the sense of immediacy and of deepening personal experience communicated by Olmsted's own more rambling, leisurely methods.

The first full-length biography of William L. Marcy appears in Ivor Debenham Spencer's *THE VICTOR AND THE SPOILS* (Brown University Press. 1959. xii + 438 pp. \$8). It is a competent if somewhat pedestrian work, which has the merit of adding materially to our knowledge of Marcy's period as Secretary of State and of throwing some new light on the negotiation of the Elgin-Marcy Treaty, in future accounts of which the part played by champagne will have to be watered down.

A disagreeable air of hagiography hangs over *ABRAHAM LINCOLN, A NEW PORTRAIT* (ed. Henry B. Kranz. New York: Putnam's. 1959. 252 pp. \$4). The volume consists of twenty-two brief essays, each by an accredited Lincoln scholar, followed by selections from Lincoln's works under such titles as 'Lincoln, Man of Wisdom', and 'Lincoln, Man of Humor'. Some of the themes treated by the contributors are trivial, many of the essays are weak. There are redeeming features, such as Theodore C. Blegen's perceptive remarks about Lincoln's imagery, and clear contributions of several other writers, and the refreshing, cool, sceptical tone of Dr. Roy P. Basler. None of these, however, justifies the volume as a whole, and one wonders why some of the more distinguished contributors allowed themselves to be drawn in.

ASIA

A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA, VOLUME TWO, THE MAURYAS AND SATAVAHANAS, 325 B.C.-A.D. 300. Edited by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Calcutta: Orient Longmans. 1958. xx + 918 pp. 90s.

This, the second volume in the series, is the first to be published of an ambitious history of India from the earliest times to independence, in twelve

volumes. The scheme was launched at the annual session of the Indian History Congress at Lahore in 1940. War and the partition of the Indian sub-continent, followed by many difficulties connected with editing and printing, have delayed the appearance of this volume for seventeen years, and the delay is regrettably evident in the bibliography, which contains no items of later date than 1951. Indeed a second edition, at least of some of the chapters, is already to be desired.

The volume is a most useful survey of the period in question. It is addressed rather to the student and scholar than to the intelligent general reader, and the European without some background knowledge and interest in the subject will find it extremely dull. It is indeed admitted that the work 'is not designed to cater for the popular taste and the average reader may find it too technical'. From the point of view of the general reading public the Bombay ten volume *History and Culture of the Indian People*, of which five volumes have already appeared, is far more satisfactory. But for the serious student one of the chief merits of the present work is the wealth of detail which it contains, such as is nowhere else to be found in any similar volume covering 600 years of Indian history. It will be of great use as a work of reference, and will become a much studied textbook in Indian universities and colleges.

The work treats of the period between the rise of Candragupta Maurya and the beginning of the Gupta Empire, a very complex age indeed, in many respects inadequately documented, when, with the decline of the Mauryan Empire, successive invaders attacked and occupied much of northern India, and when Indian civilization took on something of its later character. The authors are all well known and able Indian scholars, and all have given competent surveys of the subjects allocated to them. It would be invidious to single out any one of them for special mention. The scheme of the book does not differ greatly in principle from the well-known Bombay volumes, but in the *Comprehensive History* somewhat greater emphasis is given to political history, which occupies nearly half the book.⁴

On several questions of chronology there is still much uncertainty and controversy, and some readers will certainly disagree with the theories maintained here. We would support the view of Professor J. N. Banerjea, that the great Kaniṣka began to reign in A.D. 78, but many scholars would oppose his views on this perennial problem of early Indian chronology, and the counter-theories are not adequately considered—for instance Dr. Ghirshman's arguments in favour of A.D. 144 are not mentioned in the text, though his report on the excavations at Begram, in which they are contained, occurs in the bibliography. More serious disagreement will be aroused by the chronological scheme adopted by Dr. K. Gopalachari for the Śātavāhana dynasty of the Deccan, according to which it commenced in c. 235 B.C. This is broadly the chronology of Vincent Smith, which was long ago refuted by Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, and which to us, in view of very strong arguments based on palaeography and epigraphy, seems to be quite impossible. That scholars should differ by a matter of some 70 years over the date of a very important emperor, and by some 150 years over the date of the commencement of a very important dynasty, is a depressing reminder of the inadequacy of the sources of the history of this period, and of the great need for further research.

SSU-MA CH'IEN, GRAND HISTORIAN OF CHINA. By B. Watson. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xi + 276 pp. 40s.

CONFUCIAN CHINA AND ITS MODERN FATE. By J. R. Levenson. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. xix + 223 pp. 28s.

CHINESE THOUGHT AND INSTITUTIONS. Ed. J. K. Fairbank. University of Chicago Press: C.U.P. 1958. xiii + 438 pp. 64s.

During the last decade there has been much activity among historians of China in the United States in the field of intellectual history, a subject which among western sinologists had been largely confined to the discussion from a purely philosophical standpoint of the important writers of two periods, that of the Warring States, when Chinese thought experienced a flowering as startling in its way as that of classical Greece, and the Sung period, when a new syncretic philosophy, Neo-Confucianism, was developed and accepted as orthodoxy by the scholar class. The three books under review represent different aspects of this modern American work.

Nearest to the traditional approach is Mr. Watson's book on the great historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, a figure whose influence in intellectual history was immeasurable. He established the pattern of historiography in a society where all thinkers have tended to be more than normally historically conscious. Mr. Watson gives a brief background to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's career, a discussion, together with translated extracts, of the form of his great history the *Shih chi*, and an analysis of his thought. The latter is the least satisfactory, mainly because Ssu-ma Ch'ien intrudes his own ideas as little as possible, and only a much more sophisticated approach than that of Mr. Watson could account for all the nuances by which his judgements are implied. For the sinological specialist the book is by no means satisfactory. The author has received most of his training in Japan, and leans heavily on secondary Japanese studies, while taking inadequate account of the voluminous and excellent corpus of Chinese writing on the *Shih chi*. However, for the general reader who wishes to gain some knowledge of the formative period of Chinese historiography it will prove a helpful guide.

Mr. Levenson's work proceeds along quite different lines. His book is a discussion of the complex process through which the intellectuals of China passed in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries from their traditional acceptance of Neo-Confucian idealism to their current acceptance of the equally arid dogmas of Marxism, in the face of the challenge presented by western thought. Much of the book has already appeared in the form of separate articles, and there is a general lack of coherence as a result, but the book presents many thought-provoking ideas. The principal criticism of the work, however, is its neglect of the historical context of the ideas discussed. Ideas and concepts considered as having an independent life divorced from their historical context are dangerous stuff for the historian, and especially so when dealing with Chinese thinkers, most of whom have been currently very practical men deeply involved in the conduct of affairs.

Much the most interesting volume of the three is the symposium volume edited by Professor Fairbank. This is the second volume in a series which represents the results of four conferences held by the Committee for Chinese Thought of the Association of Asian Studies. The danger of an over-intellectualized approach to intellectual history, such as Mr. Levenson's, is that in the case of China we know very little about the history or institutions which

such an approach takes for granted. The studies in the volume under review are for the most part discussions of historical problems together with an appraisal of their implications in political thought. In the result, we have fourteen scholarly studies, of which half a dozen represent important progress in our understanding both of the functioning of Chinese society, and of the intellectual attitudes towards political matters. The individual contributors avoid excessive theorization, but the form of the book as a whole ensures that the relevance of each article to the central theme of the development of Confucianism as a political creed is made clear. The work may be recommended to all serious students of Chinese history, and to any reader who wishes to gain an insight into the part played by political theory in the conduct of government in traditional China.

University of Cambridge

DENIS TWITCHETT

SOURCES OF THE JAPANESE TRADITION. Compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary and Donald Keene. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xxvi + 926 pp. 6os.

This compilation is divided into five parts: Ancient Japan: The Heian Period: Mediæval Japan: The Tokugawa Period: Japan and the West. Each part is prefaced by an introductory note followed by translations of selected source materials. These range from the accounts of ancient Japan in the Chinese dynastic histories down to extracts from books and articles by Japanese philosophers and publicists about Japan's present position and prospects. The object of the book is to illustrate the growth and development of Japanese civilization and the various phases through which it has passed. Many of the extracts, which number well over two hundred in all, have not hitherto been available in translation, and taken together they admirably fulfil the purpose of the editors. These are to be congratulated on producing a compendium which will be invaluable to all teachers and students of general Japanese history, both in the United States and in this country.

University of Bristol

F. G. JONES

A HISTORY OF HONG KONG. By G. B. Endacott. Oxford University Press. 1958. 322 pp. 30s.

In this book, which is based mainly on Colonial and Foreign Office Records, Mr. Endacott has given us a solid and factual account of the origins and development of the Colony. Ironically enough, it was obtained against the wishes of the Home Government, for Sir Henry Pottinger, who secured its definitive cession in 1842, had been told not to insist on this provided the Chinese were willing to open fresh treaty ports. The early history of Hong Kong was a chequered one. Its unhealthy climate resulted in a high mortality among British soldiers and civilians, while trade grew slowly because merchants preferred to go direct to the treaty ports, especially Shanghai. After 1859, when the governor of Hong Kong was no longer in addition the Minister and Superintendent of Trade in China, it ceased to have any supervisory functions over the treaty ports in general. Quarrels between some of the early governors and the British community in Victoria added to the difficulties of the struggling Colony. Only by degrees did it surmount these and grow into a great centre of shipping and of distributive trade. Then came the Japanese occupation and the menace of Communist China, with which

Mr. Endacott deals briefly in his final chapter. Today, in the twilight of empire, Hong Kong, the last citadel of British economic and cultural influence in East Asia, is nearer to fulfilling its intended function than ever before.

University of Bristol

F. C. JONES

A HISTORY OF MODERN BURMA. By John F. Cady. Cornell University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xvi + 682 pp. 60s.

The author begins his preface by observing that recent events have necessitated a re-interpretation of Burmese history, and defining his own intention as 'to set forth what happened politically to Burma and to the Burmese people during the last century and a half'. A new history is, indeed, long overdue. The pioneer study was that of Sir Arthur Phayre, published in 1883. G. E. Harvey's standard work (1925) expanded rather than altered Phayre's analysis. J. L. Christian's *Modern Burma* (1942) provided only a sketch of the historical background, perceptive though it is, and J. S. Furnivall's *Colonial Policy and Practice* (1948), which contains a wealth of economic detail, is vitiated by this writer's singularly individual and polemical attitude to the consequences of British rule.

Professor Cady has carefully collected and sifted a great mass of material from reports and periodical publications, with some new additions from missionary records; he has not been able to make use of Burmese sources to any extent. The result is a study which really is a history of the Burmese people, and not merely the record of their rulers and exploiters. The author is particularly illuminating in his first part, 'Old Burma', which is an admirable picture of society and culture in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The long middle section, covering British rule and the renascence of Burmese nationalism, is a well-modulated and balanced account, which also reaches out from the capital into the countryside. The last part, tracing events since 1942, is probably the least satisfactory. However, Professor Cady's book is almost certain to gain a place on our bookshelves as the accepted major work on Burma from Bodawpaya to the Japanese invasion.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

HUGH TINKER

THE RUSSIAN PUSH TOWARDS JAPAN: RUSSO-JAPANESE RELATIONS 1697-

1875. By George Alexander Lensen. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xv + 353 pp. 80s.

Professor Lensen, being an American of Russian descent, has the enviable advantage as an orientalist of knowing the Russian language as well as Japanese and Chinese. So he is favourably equipped to master the field of study that he is quickly making his own, namely the whole range of Russo-Japanese relations. Those who recall his *Report from Hokkaido*, a fairly rare work printed and published in Hakodate, and the more accessible *Russia's Japan Expedition of 1852 to 1855* will guess that his latest work will be based on sound scholarship and written in a lively, readable style.

Such expectations are fully justified. Using both Japanese and Russian sources Professor Lensen presents a fair, exhaustive account of Russia's somewhat haphazard advance in the direction of Japan, for the most part along the island chain of the Kuriles, from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth. What must be considered surprising is that the Russians did not send a really substantial squadron to Japan until 1853, when

Vice-Admiral Putiatin arrived at Nagasaki, shortly after Commodore Perry paid his first visit to Japanese waters. Up to that date the Russians, despite their penetration of the Aleutians and Alaska and their growing interest in Sakhalin, did not show themselves very much in earnest over the matter of compelling the Shogunate to open Japan to commerce and diplomacy. Professor Lensen gives a very interesting account of the abortive Rezanov mission and of Golovnin's captivity in Yezo. Later chapters of the book, describing the life and activities of Russians in Hakodate and Nagasaki, whet the appetite for a promised second volume, carrying the story of Russo-Japanese relations from 1875 (the date of the Sakhalin-Kuriles Exchange Treaty) up to very recent times.

Not all Professor Lensen's assumptions will go unchallenged. He may be inclined to idealize Russo-Japanese relations in the middle of the nineteenth century. Amicable though these were it seems uncertain whether the Japanese really did like the Russians more than other Europeans. And although it may be true that the separation of the first Russian consul, in Hakodate, from his colleagues in Yedo brought certain negative advantages to the Russians—they were not associated with the kind of pressure that other Western representatives exerted on the *Bakufu*—it meant, at the same time, that the Russian consul, far from the centre of affairs, was in a rather weak position to know what was going on either in Yedo or Kyoto.

St. Antony's College, Oxford

RICHARD STORRY

THE OPIUM WAR THROUGH CHINESE EYES. By Arthur Waley. London: Allen and Unwin. 1958. 257 pp. 21s.

In comparison with other topics in Chinese history, the First Opium War is well documented in western languages. The intrinsic interest of this war far transcends what on the surface appears little more than a second-rate military campaign. It represents the confrontation of traditional China, self-satisfied and complacent, herself a great and successful imperialist power, with the industrial West, itself fired with expansionist ambition and confident of its superiority in every field. The shock of the easy and overwhelming victory of the British forces suddenly opened the eyes of intelligent Chinese to the fact that their cultural superiority, which had been real enough four centuries earlier, was lost, at least in the material field, and that 'barbarians'—who could traditionally be regarded only with contempt—had far surpassed the Chinese in technology and administrative ability. The attitudes of mind which characterized the *dramatis personæ* on the British side have long been well known. Dr. Waley's present book now gives us an invaluable insight into the reactions and attitudes of the Chinese protagonists.

The materials introduced to the western reader in this volume are a selection from the six volume corpus of documents on the Opium War published in Shanghai in 1955. By far the most important of the documents selected by the author is the diary kept during the crucial period by Lin Tse-hsü, the Commissioner at Canton. The extracts from his writings are far more interesting than the same author's official memorials on the war, which are well known. Lin's writing, supremely confident in the power of the old system, complacent in its ability to deal with any eventuality, never for a moment assailed by doubt, underlines the utter incompatibility of the

viewpoints of the two parties during the dispute. Beside Lin's diary, extracts of other diaries dealing with events during the later campaigns in central China are translated, together with some documents relating to the trial of Chinese collaborators. These introduce little new in the way of facts, but are clear evidence of the depths of corruption, demoralization, and incompetence to which the Chinese military system had sunk.

I need hardly add that, like everything else written by Dr. Waley, the translations are a pleasure to read. This book and the author's recent '*Yüan Mei*' are perhaps the easiest available means for the western reader to gain an insight into the reactions of the Chinese scholar class not only at the time of the Opium War, but through the whole tragic century.

University of Cambridge

DENIS TWITCHETT

LEBANON IN HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT. By

Philip K. Hitti. London: Macmillan. 1957. xx + 548 pp. 42s.

In 1920 the French, as mandatory power in Syria, decided to create a separate state of Greater Lebanon (Grand Liban). Its core was the mountain, the autonomous province of mount Lebanon, established in 1864; to this were added the towns and districts of Beirut and Tripoli, the Biqā', and the districts to the south as far as the Palestine border.

Mount Lebanon, with its distinctive population of Maronite Christians and heretical Muslims, has a history of separate cohesion and identity going back to the Crusades and perhaps beyond—a history in which the adjoining coastal provinces were often intimately involved. In this sense, Lebanese identity is as clear and as old as that of many of the nation-states of Europe. Professor Hitti has, however, not been content with tracing the emergence of the historic Lebanese personality from its natural starting-point, the first appearance of the Maronites in the mountain. Instead, he has preferred to follow the history of his native land from its geological beginnings, and, by respecting throughout the 1920 frontiers of the state of Greater Lebanon, to include much ancient, classical, and oriental history at the cost of the unity and coherence of the country and of the book. Like Col. Abd al-Nasser (*Philosophy of the Revolution*, part III), Professor Hitti sees the Middle East as a set of concentric circles. The pattern is of course different. Col. Nasser's expanding circles are Arabdom, Africa, and Islam, with Egypt as their centre; Professor Hitti's contracting pattern is indicated by his series of books on the history of the Arabs (1937), of 'Syria including Lebanon and Palestine' (1951), and now, the smallest so far, of the Lebanon. The method and much of the content will be familiar to readers of the two earlier books. What is new is the fuller treatment of the Ottoman period, missing in the first book and briefly dismissed in the second; there have been other accounts of this important period, notably those written in French by Father Lammens and Adel Ismail (neither of them mentioned by Professor Hitti), but this appears to be the first in English.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

BERNARD LEWIS

A HISTORY OF SOUTH INDIA by Professor Nilakanta Sastri has been published in a revised second edition (O.U.P. 1958. 508 pp. illus. 21s.). The first edition was reviewed in *History*, xli. 195-7.

GENERAL

THE MUQADDIMAH: AN INTRODUCTION TO HISTORY. By Abd-ar-Rahman ibn Khaldun. Translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal. Three vols. cxl + 1548 pp. 14 plates. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. £6 6s. the set.

Western readers unacquainted with Arabic have hitherto had access to ibn Khaldun's famous work only in selections, or in the French version of W. MacGuckin, Baron de Slane (Paris, 1862-8). The need for a scholarly English version has now been met by Professor Franz Rosenthal of Yale (no relative, by the way, of Dr. Erwin I. J. Rosenthal of Cambridge, England, who is also an authority on ibn Khaldun); and it may be hoped that a new planet may soon have swum into the ken of many. The present reviewer is no Arabist, and cannot judge the translation; but is glad to quote the judgement of Mr. J. S. Trimingham, Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Glasgow, which is highly favourable. I would add, from some experience of the problems of translation in other historical fields, that the whole approach to the task inspires confidence. I refer to the character of the footnotes, concise, but giving reference to a wide range of parallel, explanatory or amplificatory passages, and to the long 'Translator's Introduction', informative and modest, ending with the statement of the principles adopted in his own work. Accuracy and clarity, it appears, have not been sacrificed to literary elegance; the translator has not hesitated to enclose in brackets fairly numerous words added for the sake of clearness but not verbally corresponding to anything in the Arabic text (like the italicized words in our AV of the Bible). Yet the final effect is not unpleasing. It reproduces the informal 'lecturing' style which Rosenthal finds characteristic of his original (I, p. lxix) —the style of a man pouring out the learning and wisdom of an encyclopædic mind in a brief interval of freedom from political work and worry. (Ibn Khaldun produced the whole of this great work in its first draft form in five months!) Rosenthal says of his own work (I, p. cx): 'The present translation was begun in the belief that a mixture of the literal and modernizing types of rendering would produce the most acceptable result. Yet, it must be confessed that with each successive revision, the translator has felt an irresistible urge to follow ever more faithfully the linguistic form of the original.'

The title *Muqaddimah* ('Introduction') to ibn Khaldun's Universal History has been commonly applied, almost since the author's lifetime, not only to the Introduction proper, which is relatively brief and concerned chiefly with deprecating the uncritical acceptance of legends, but to the first book of the work itself. In this, ibn Khaldun passes in review that whole field of knowledge, of which the historian must be aware if even learned and critical research is to produce anything more than ever more detailed chronicles, giving no answer to the questions 'How?' and 'Why?' His own work, he claims, is 'a vessel for philosophy'; he called it the *Kitab al-'Ibar*, or Book of Lessons. 'The First Book,' he says, 'deals with civilization and its essential characteristics, namely royal authority, government, gainful occupations, ways of making a living, crafts and sciences, as well as with the causes and reasons thereof.' In fact, *Quicquid agunt homines.*

The book, therefore, is *not* a piece of Toynbeian system-making. One might rather call it a kind of grammar of history; and though ibn Khaldun does enunciate in it some generalizations marked by a common sense worthy of Aristotle's *Politics* (a work unfortunately unknown to him), it is also true, as Toynbee has pointed out (*S.H.*, III, pp. 473-6), that the segment of history which he knew well, that of the Islamic world, was limited. His economic insight is remarkable in his time; his thesis that heavy taxation removes the incentive to productivity is of general application, as are his strictures on the unfortunate effects of state economic competition with the private trader; his thesis that only uncivilized peoples, such as the primitive Arabs, manifest group-feeling (*asabiyah*), while townsmen lose it, and with it their military qualities, is not—though it does shed light on the weakness of the oriental civilizations in face of the west in early modern times. What the reader will gain from a perusal (even if selective) of this work is a penetrating survey of Muslim civilization, and contact with a remarkable mind, combining the historical insight of a Thucydides with an interest in all the doings of man worthy of Herodotus. The book is full of good things. Most readers will probably skip most of a 56-page destructive analysis of the *Za'irajah* (III, 171 ff.), an elaborate combination of astrology with numerical and alphabetic fortune-telling; but they will meet also with some remarkably liberal views on school methods (III, 305 ff.); with a defence of mysticism (III, 76 ff.), which it must have required some courage to publish in ibn Khaldun's world (his account of Sufism shows remarkable analogies with the history of Christian mysticism) and with possibly sobering strictures on the incompetence of the scholar in politics (III, 308 ff.). Even kings can be, and had better not be, too clever (I, 385). Very amusing, too, is the exposure of the 'racket' in hunting for buried treasure by tomb-robbing, etc., evidently as rife in ibn Khaldun's world as it still is in the near east (II, 319 ff.). Sometimes the intrinsic interest of a subject positively runs away with him. The section on literature, with which the book closes, ends with a huge subsection of seventy pages, not merely *on* but mostly consisting of examples quoted from the various schools of Arabic poetry; after which he apologizes for having 'almost' digressed.

It may be added that if six guineas is a price which few scholars may feel inclined to pay lightly, it is no immoderate price today for these three handsomely produced volumes. It may be hoped that libraries at least may assure to this fine work a wide circulation and accessibility.

University of Glasgow

A. R. BURN

A HISTORY OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. By Friedrich Klemm. Translated from the German (TECHNIK: EINE GESCHICHTE IHRER PROBLEME, 1954) by Dorothea Waley Singer. London: Allen and Unwin. 1959. 401 pp. illus. 32s.

This is a most timely translation of a work based on a course of lectures delivered by the Librarian of the Deutsches Museum, Munich. Timely, since it is in every respect complementary to the recently completed six-volume *History of Technology* edited by Charles Singer and numerous associates. The core of the survey, which stretches from palaeolithic mammoth trap to automation, is a series of extracts drawn from contemporary sources, each long enough to give some insight into the technological climate of opinion rather

than a description of the more complex technical devices. These extracts are linked by a skilful commentary setting them in their historical context; evidence is drawn not only from those engaged in technological practice but from interested 'onlookers' of all kinds. Since contemporary flavour is aimed at rather than precise technical description the illustrations (59 text figures and 24 plates) are mainly direct reproductions of sketches, paintings, and drawings: they are admirably chosen and include many that are unfamiliar and of special interest.

The fact that the book is selective and interpretative (the German title gives a clearer indication of its nature) is of course a source of danger to those not already experienced in this field: and to such will be its chief appeal. But the author deserves our gratitude for setting such an admirable example of liberal temper in which credit is distributed to nations, classes, and creeds with an impartiality seldom so happily achieved. It is hardly necessary to add that Mrs. Singer has provided a beautifully smooth translation of the German text; she has used her discretion in replacing some of the citations by direct English translations where these have been available.

With some diffidence I suggest that in no historical field is bibliographic precision more important than in that of technology. For adequate appreciation it is essential for the reader to be able to know whether an illustration of some ancient mechanism is a reproduction from a contemporary MS., a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century *princeps*, a later edition, or some recent periodical review. The references in this book are for the most part exemplary; but 'Hero's *Opera*', 'Mendelschen Zwölf-Brüder-Stiftung', 'Isis', 'Villard's [de Honnecourt] *Bauhütten buch*' are scarcely good enough.

King's College, Aberdeen

WILLIAM P. D. WIGHTMAN

The first attempt to treat heraldic flags and banners seriously comes from the pen of Lt.-Col. Robert Gayre in his HERALDIC STANDARDS AND OTHER ENSIGNS (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1959. xix + 132 pp. 16 plates in colour. 35s.). As such, the book is to be welcomed, but it must be clearly stated that it could have been a more valuable volume than it is. In the first place, the revision leaves much to be desired (e.g. the reference to the late Arthur Fox-Davies as 'she' on p. 70). In the second place, the author seems to be at sea in discussing the feudal society of the middle ages, as when he writes of 'feudal or feudal-tribal law' or in unhappy attempts to equate knight-service with the modern military ranks and honours. It is rash to accept Froissart's figures for the English army of 1326 as a basis for calculation. Thirdly, more profound research could have strengthened some statements; thus, a list of names given as esquires, and therefore exceptional, on p. 59 could have been shown to be those of men who were in fact knighted. It is odd to find no reference to the work in this field of the late H. S. London, who exploded, *inter alia*, the legend of the Pelham buckle (p. 91). None the less there is in this book a great deal of valuable information, which is not easily to be found elsewhere and some useful definitions of the various sorts of flag; despite its shortcomings (many of which could be eliminated by careful revision and further investigation), it will take a place as a serviceable work of reference on a little explored subject. The drawings and illustrations are good, and the price modest.

Trinity College, Oxford

MICHAEL MACLAGAN

LECTURES. By Fritz Saxl. London: The Warburg Institute. 1958. vol. i
388 pp.; vol. ii 26 pp. + 243 plates. 95s.

Saxl was a polymath. It is astonishing that one scholar could have so intensive a knowledge of such a diversity of subjects. Mithraism, early Christian sculpture, astrology, Reformation pamphlets, political symbolism, iconography—all occupied Saxl's intellectual energies and were illuminated by his historical imagination. As he himself said, the main problem facing the art historian is how to link his studies with other branches of history—political, literary, religious and philosophical. In this same lecture Saxl described himself as having become 'a vagrant, a wanderer through the museums and libraries of Europe, at times a labourer tilling the soil on the borderstrip between art history, literature, science and religion'. But, in fact, the point of Saxl's work was to show that there is no such thing as a 'borderstrip' in scholarship and that such artificial distinctions are merely a matter of convenience without real intellectual significance.

There are dangers inherent in art history: subjective interpretation of a painting may be employed as an integral part of the argument—a possible criticism of the lecture on Elsheimer; or the juxtaposition of illustrative material may seem strained, as in the first lecture on illustrated medieval encyclopædias. Furthermore, there are dangers in any lecture when arguments may become elliptical through considerations of time. *Continuity and Variation in the Meaning of Images* is an instance of this. The mind of the reader has to leap vast tracts of time and space to keep up with arguments which Saxl, with his immense grasp of comparative material, would have deemed sufficiently obvious.

For the most part, however, such dangers are surmounted and the lectures are remarkable for their clarity and coherence. They are arranged, not chronologically, but roughly according to subjects. One group includes the lecture on continuity of images, two lectures tracing the migration of the Mithras concept through various civilizations, and a demonstration, through a study of sarcophagi, of the way in which pagan and Jewish ideas influenced early Christian sculpture. Particularly impressive are the lectures on cosmological and astrological problems.

A history of the Capitol as a politico-religious symbol, from its origins to its revival by Mussolini, is a striking illustration of Saxl's general conclusion that 'the birth, growth and death of symbols, their revival and combination with modern ideas, make European history'. Of three lectures devoted to the Reformation, the first reveals how themes of fifteenth-century block-books—miraculous apparitions, monsters and the Antichrist prophecy—were given an anti-Roman interpretation by Luther; the second discusses the Lutheran principles in Dürer's art; and the third examines Holbein's attitude toward Luther and the way in which his humanist sympathies differed from the Reformer's ideals. Painting provides the theme for another group of lectures which deal with the influence of Italy on Elsheimer's art, with Rembrandt's classical interests, and with Velasquez's portraits of Philip IV. The volume concludes, very movingly, with *Why Art History?* in which Saxl again emphasized the need for a widening of academic horizons—the cause on which his own intellectual wealth was so freely spent and to which these sumptuous, lavishly-illustrated volumes, with their feast of mental and visual delights, form a major contribution.

SYDNEY ANGLO

ETHICS IN A WORLD OF POWER: THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. By Richard W. Sterling. Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 318 pp. 36s.

No one would deny that Friedrich Meinecke was a great historian and it would be difficult to withhold admiration for the intellectual honesty which led him, in his eighties, to publish *Die deutsche Katastrophe* with its frank examination of the trends in German history and historical thought which had found their logical conclusion in Hitlerism.

Professor Sterling has set out to trace in detail the stages by which Meinecke was led through the shock of defeat in 1918 to look more critically at the assumptions—the moral autonomy of the State, the primacy of foreign policy, the justification of *realpolitik* and *raison d'état*—which he had accepted from Ranke and which he had seen little reason to question so long as Germany was the most powerful state in Europe. Slowly and with painful honesty Meinecke brought himself to abandon one after another of the foundations on which he had based his historical work for thirty years and began the search for a new standpoint from which to view the claims of ethics in a world of power politics.

Any rigorous self-examination by an historian of his philosophical assumptions is worth studying, if only because it makes us aware of the shortcomings and inconsistencies of our own. This is doubly so in the case of Meinecke since the assumptions with which he began are alien to the tradition of English and American historical thinking and constantly pull the English reader up short. Professor Sterling's study is solid and scholarly, but not easy to read. He treats ideas with a heavy-handed earnestness which sometimes exasperates the reader. Stripped of its footnotes, the argument could have been put in a full-length essay. But the most baffling question is this. Meinecke's intellectual honesty and the range of his scholarship cannot alter the fact that in the end he reached conclusions which are the commonplaces of the liberal tradition of Western political thought. No doubt they were worth all the more because of the hard and painful process by which they were reached. But for the historian who is not a German and has never felt the attractive force of the propositions with which Meinecke began, what is the value of the demonstration? Professor Sterling's study adds an interesting chapter to the intellectual history of modern Germany but the reader who turns to it for fresh light on the old problem of power and morality is likely to be disappointed. For the truth is that the only interesting and original German political thinkers have been those who held by the assumptions Meinecke gradually abandoned and repudiated the Western liberal tradition—the 'bad' and not the 'good' Germans.

St. Catherine's Society, Oxford.

ALAN BULLOCK

Almost every historian, ancient, medieval or modern, with qualifications for the job (and occasionally one without any) feels the urge for some reason at some time to write a short history of Germany. The result in recent years has been a variety of such attempts to compress copious gallons into half-pint pots. Modernists have tackled medieval Germany and tripped up over the Holy Roman Empire; medievalists, lured into the nineteenth century, have wallowed helplessly in the Schleswig Holstein question; Byzantinists have struggled with the baffling intricacies of Adolf Hitler's syntax; the results

have been most varied but rarely satisfying. It is therefore refreshing to find a real expert in nineteenth- and twentieth-century German history (though E. J. Passant started out as a medievalist) sticking to his last and producing a useful and workmanlike little book in the shape of **A SHORT HISTORY OF GERMANY, 1815-1945** (Cambridge University Press. 1959. 256 pp. 20s.), and modestly seeking the collaboration of three younger scholars, all expert in their field, for chapters on the prelude to the nineteenth century (Mr. C. J. Child), on economic development (Mr. W. O. Henderson) and on Germany at war, 1939-45 (Mr. D. C. Watt). It is a pity that Mr. Watt was not also asked to continue the story up to Dr. Adenauer's third electoral triumph in September 1957 for we badly need a scholarly analysis of the years since Hitler's fall, but the cautious Mr. Passant probably considered that this was not yet 'history'. He himself kept closely to the political story of the hundred and fourteen years he felt competent to cover, making use of the Geographical Handbooks of the Naval Intelligence Department of the Admiralty (which he played an important part in preparing during the Second World War) and also, no doubt, of the resources of the Foreign Office Research Department and Library (of which he was head for several years during the post-war period). It is a tribute to the belated enlightenment of those pundits at the Admiralty and in Downing Street who so undiscriminatingly plastered 'Most Secret', 'Secret' and 'Restricted' labels on documents produced by their officials, even when these were pieces of historical research culled from easily accessible printed sources, that they finally 'declassified' the history of Germany up to 1939 and put it back into the public domain for Mr. Passant's—and his readers'—benefit. This book, with such voluminous and careful documentation behind its slim pages, is authoritative in a way that the product of the work of one scholar's mind can rarely be. Everything is carefully checked and sifted, and though one could have wished for rather more frequent expressions of opinion on the course of German history between 1815 and 1945 than can be found in the book, it is a model of factual accuracy and clarity of statement. The student who wants to know about the *Zollverein* or the *Septennat* or the *N.S.D.A.P.* can find out in this book without having to wade through too much critical undergrowth or, worse still, having to disentangle the facts from witty remarks and dogmatic comparisons which belong rather to the Union or the Common Room than to a serious historical study. Mr. Passant's book, in short, has no fireworks; it makes no startling 'contributions' to the interpretation of recent German history; it also presents no half-baked theories. It gives the facts, if very little else, within its short compass of under two hundred and fifty pages, but they are the relevant facts, fairly and accurately presented. For that, in a history of Germany, the student should be truly thankful.

University of Birmingham

J. A. HAWGOOD

The Cambridge University Press has had the unhappy idea of resurrecting the sections dealing with French history from the Handbook produced by the Naval Intelligence division of the Admiralty during the Second World War. The result is called **A SHORT HISTORY OF FRANCE TO THE PRESENT DAY** (C.U.P. 1959. ix + 222 pp. 20s.). A few samples will show the quality of the book. On St. Louis the main entry is: 'Louis IX (1226-70) had taken

a great part in the Crusades. His death was lamented throughout Christendom, and he was canonized in 1297. During his reign France had become one of the foremost powers in Europe.' Elsewhere, we are told twice that he created a port at Aigues-Mortes, that in his time French architecture became famous, that Villehardouin and Joinville were the historians of his age, and nothing else. The sixteenth century is covered in some four or five pages of scattered references, Francis I being mentioned twice, on each occasion as having died. The period 1689–1789 is covered in seventeen pages, practically confined to its wars, and 1814–70 in twenty-two pages. Such names as Coligny, Catherine de Medici, Voltaire, Necker, Danton—to give only a few—are excluded, but in exchange we have Bao Dai, Jean de Béthencourt, Conan IV, Ribault and Villegagnon. The conditions under which it was compiled may explain some of the peculiarities of this book. The publishers claim that it is 'the only one of its kind in English': for this at least we may be thankful. The kindest thing we can do for the distinguished contributors and editor is to refrain from mentioning their names, since they are presumably much less responsible for this piece of book making than the publishers.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

THE DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY: 1941–1950. Edited by L. G. Wickham Legg and E. T. Williams. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xxi + 1031 pp. £5 5s.

The supplementary volume of the *D.N.B.* chronicling the lives of persons who died between 1941 and 1950 is with us at last. Like its predecessors, it is full of good things, an excellent book for browsing in. It has, perhaps, fewer really great men in it than its immediate predecessor, and fewer 'characters'. Not that any book could be dull which contained the lives of Baldwin and Blatchford, Gandhi and Joyce and Keynes, Lloyd George and Lugard, Archbishop Lang and Archbishop Temple, E. C. Somerville and Virginia Woolf. All these have articles fully worthy of their subjects. Perhaps the best is St. John Ervine's long biography of Bernard Shaw. Other notable lives are of Lord Salisbury by Lord Selborne, John Burns and Will Thorne by G. D. H. Cole, Marie Tempest by St. John Ervine, R. G. Collingwood by T. M. Knox, J. L. Hammond by Gilbert Murray, W. W. Jacobs by Michael Sadleir; Smuts by Professor A. M. Keppel-Jones, Lord Stamp by Lord Beveridge, the Webbs by Mrs. M. A. Hamilton and H. G. Wells by Ritchie Calder. Of the many articles on scientists, the most notable seem to a layman to be those on Sir William Bragg by Sir Charles Darwin, Sir Arthur Eddington by Sir Edmund Whittaker, and Sir Joseph Larmor by E. Cunningham. The long article on Sir James Frazer is one of the best in the volume. Such articles epitomize the history of several branches of learning.

Yet, as one reads, one cannot help asking what is the purpose of the *D.N.B.* Supplements which, unlike most of the contents of the original volumes, are inevitably in the main essays in contemporary biography. Mr. Williams answers: to provide '*interim judgements*'. This is fair enough; but it makes the standard for inclusion a matter of guesswork—in the words of the first Supplement, 'Reputations that might reasonably be regarded as ephemeral have alone been consciously excluded. The right of a person to notice in the *Dictionary* has been held to depend on the probability that his career would be the object of intelligent enquiry on the part of an appreciable number of

persons a generation or more later.' How this works out in practice can be seen from the following list of persons included in the Supplement.

Political and trade union leaders in Britain 42; political leaders in the Commonwealth 26; other Commonwealth figures 10; Indian and colonial governors, judges, etc. 21; generals, air marshals, etc. 32; admirals and naval officers 22; diplomatists 15; judges and lawyers 30; civil servants 20; royalty and peers 11; bishops and divines 20; theologians 13; scholars (excl. historians) 45; archeologists 9; geographers 4; economists 4; historians 32; scientists 58; doctors 26; businessmen 33; engineers 18; architects 12; musicians 22; writers 43; artists 34; actors and actresses, stage 16; journalists 14; aviators 6; sport 7; university administrators 10; headmasters, teachers 10; miscellaneous 39.

Several things strike one immediately. The generals and admirals outnumber the politicians and trade union leaders. Judges and civil servants are unexpectedly numerous. Bishops, divines and theologians seem over-represented. So are the scholars (philosophers, linguists, etc). The scientists are perhaps not more numerous than the importance of science deserves, though many will be unknown to the layman; and the same is true of the doctors. Colonial governors are well preserved for posterity. The large number of business leaders noticed is welcome. The arts and literature fare well, as do the architects; and we could do, perhaps, with rather fewer musicians. The stage is well represented, sport perhaps inevitably much less so.

How far does this list afford a conspectus of the leaders of our national life (for the countries of the Commonwealth the coverage is necessarily much more selective)? It is not of omissions that one complains, though one might have expected to find Fred Jowett, member of Labour's pantheon, Sir Nigel Gresley, the leading locomotive designer of the century, and Hans Renold, pioneer in the manufacture of chains and in industrial conciliation. It is, rather, of the number of lesser men included; worthy, no doubt, following useful careers, serving their generation, rewarded by knighthoods or other decorations. The reader of *History* can judge for himself by going through the list of the thirty-two historians (surely an excessive number, however gratifying to fellow-historians) here remembered.¹ At the same time one is grateful for notices of several people who though deserving might easily have been forgotten because they fall into no obvious category: Angela Brazil, writer of schoolgirl stories, Sir Lawrence Chubb, preserver of commons, Elsie Fogarty, a pioneer in speech training, Geoffrey Hobson, historian of bookbindings, R. R. Kuczynski, the demographer, to name only a few.

Comprehensiveness (besides being impossible) is less necessary, perhaps, because of the variety of biographical data now available outside the *D.N.B.* We are living in the age of almanacs, year-books, directories. The bare facts of most careers can be learned from *Who's Who* and *Who was Who*, and from obituary notices. The careers of admirals and generals must be discoverable

¹ Sir E. G. Backhouse, Z. N. Brooke, Sir G. Callender, H. M. Chadwick, J. H. Clapham, R. G. Collingwood, G. G. Coulton, Charles Cruttwell, E. Curtis, Katharine Esdaile, Philip Guedalla, Hubert Hall, J. L. Hammond, Sir William Holdsworth, A. G. Little, Sir John Lloyd, Sir John Marriott, William Miller, Ramsay Muir, Sir Charles Oman, Sir Bernard Pares, W. Alison Phillips, A. F. Pollard, C. W. Previté-Orton, Sir Charles Grant Robertson, J. Holland Rose, F. Saxl, W. A. Shaw, James Tait, Basil Williams, D. A. Winstanley, G. M. Wrong.

from the records of the Services. Most scientists will be commemorated in the obituary notices of the Royal Society, and many scholars in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*. Indeed, a perusal of the latter shows how much richer and fuller are its notices than those of the Supplement, often contributed by the same author.

Beside the problem of selection is the problem of proportion. The more articles there are, the shorter most of them must be. Often they tell us nothing of the man behind the career, and not much of his career beyond parentage, education, appointments, distinctions, honorary degrees (it is surely unnecessary to notice these, the small change of a busy life) and the occupation of his wife's father. The notices of the civil servants are the most uninformative, whether because there is little to tell or little that can be told. What does it help to know that x's 'reserved temperament made it difficult for his colleagues to get to know him well, and he was not at his best in establishment work. But he was in advance of his time in campaigning for plain English in official correspondence.' This, which is not untypical, is in one of the many articles based on 'private information; personal knowledge' (indeed the one in question gives no other sources). How colourless even a good article can be will be seen by reading that on G. G. Coulton and then turning to his daughter's *Father*. Admittedly the object of the *D.N.B.* is not to entertain, and contributors and editor are scrupulous in giving references to fuller sources of information. Nor is the dull man necessarily unimportant. Yet even short articles need not sacrifice authenticity: witness reference to J. B. Manson's forced resignation from the directorship of the Tate after lifting the beard of a distinguished French visitor to see 'whether he had a tie on underneath' after an official lunch. The articles on A. E. W. Mason and Sir George Sitwell equally capture the quality of each in a small space. And the bonus conferred by a slightly longer article is amply demonstrated in Sir George Clark's notice of A. F. Pollard; his books, his public work, his personal characteristics all receive their due.

It is, of course, a mark of contemporary history that it can be written partly from private information and personal knowledge; and the editor rightly makes a virtue of this. But this also has its dangers. Fulsomeness is not one yielded to in this volume. Reticence is; and a too private standard of judgement. The merits and defects of the method can be seen in the longer articles, and particularly in the two contributed by the late Dr. Thomas Jones on Lloyd George and Baldwin. Both could hardly be bettered within the length allowed. Yet the omissions are almost as remarkable as the amount of information which is included. We hear nothing, for example, of the distrust, even hatred, which Lloyd George inspired against himself; we are left in the dark as to why Baldwin became prime minister. (More surprising, Dr. Jones comes near to giving currency to the least favourable interpretation of Baldwin's 'appalling frankness' speech of 1936 explaining his delay in pushing rearmament; and he quotes G. M. Young's charge of indolence though he himself did much to rebut it in his *Diary with Letters*.) At the same time three paragraphs on Baldwin's personal appearance, characteristics and habits show to the full the value of 'personal knowledge'.

These criticisms in no way diminish one's gratitude for the work so carefully, often imaginatively, done by Mr. Wickham Legg, Mr. Williams and their contributors. Indeed, it is its excellence that leads us to ask for more:

not more articles but rather fewer, so that the number of medium-sized articles (of at least four columns) may be increased. In this way can justice not only be done but be seen to be done to those who deserve to be remembered.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

C. L. MOWAT

THE MACLEODS: THE HISTORY OF A CLAN. By I. F. Grant. London: Faber. 1959. 653 pp. 42s.

The core of Dr. Grant's book is the history of the chiefs of Dunvegan—all twenty-eight of them—and such a history necessarily includes the tedious and meaningless feuds of earlier generations and many legends and folk-tales which, when they can be tested by other evidence, too often turn out to be unreliable. From the seventeenth century, however, as Dr. Grant becomes able to draw on the ample family muniments and other sources, she widens the interest of her narrative and relates it to general history. The lairds of Dunvegan, who were almost consistently detached from Jacobitism, were instead immersed in British politics and in those rivalries of families and of 'interests' which determined Scottish representation in the Westminster parliament. Their other chief concern was the management of their estates, for which there is important material, beginning with rentals of about 1684 and a series of estate accounts from 1706 onwards. There is very full information about the way of life of the chiefs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and their financial position is analysed generation by generation.

Clan history in the best sense is represented by excellent accounts of the social and economic situation about 1700 and again a century later, and Dr. Grant emphasizes the comparatively late development of many features of Highland life now regarded as traditional—the bagpipe and its music, battle tactics centred on a furious charge, and various articles of dress and equipment. In general, however, the promise of the sub-title ('The history of a clan') is somewhat imperfectly fulfilled, for material on the life of the clansmen and even on the cadet families of MacLeods is subordinate. There are only casual references to the growing importance of clans in the later middle ages, and if Dr. Grant, with her great knowledge of Highland life and culture, cannot tell us how clans developed, perhaps we shall never know.

A 'clan' is not even defined. Of course the MacLeods of Dunvegan and the MacLeods of Lewis were, according to the clan genealogies, descended from two sons of an original Leod. His name was Norse, he is said to have been a son of Olaf the Black, king of Man, and the famous 'Fairy Flag' of Dunvegan, authoritatively pronounced to be of Syrian origin and possibly part of the spoil of an early Norse raid, has been tentatively identified with the banner carried by Harald Hardrada at Stamford Bridge. Dr. Grant states, correctly, that it is unlikely that all the MacLeods descend from the reputed progenitor (especially as there were other Leods in early Scotland, some of whom presumably left descendants); and she also acknowledges that the followers of a Highland chief were 'heterogeneous' in both blood and surname. But elsewhere she expresses surprise that families other than MacLeods were settled on the chief's lands, and as she approaches modern times she confuses the historic clan with the modern clan society—which, we are told in a revealing sentence, was established 'by looking up names in the directory'. The final chapter, on 'The Spirit of the Clan', quotes an allusion to 'the

spiritual link of clanship' from Dame Flora MacLeod; but Dr. Grant caps this with the phrase 'a sacramental conception of the functions and duties of a chief'. After this it is refreshing to turn to the Appendices, which include one on Dunvegan Castle by Dr. Douglas Simpson and another which shows how little evidence there is for the supposed antiquity of 'clan tartans'. The book contains a number of odd slips, including a reference to 'Glaswegians' (*rectius Galwegians*) at the Battle of the Standard.

University of Edinburgh

GORDON DONALDSON

A MONASTERY IN MORAY. THE STORY OF PLUSCARDEN PRIORY, 1230–1948. By Peter F. Anson. London: S.P.C.K. 1959. ix + 211 pp. illus. map. 30s.

A monastery in Moray is in fact two Benedictine priories, Urquhart, a cell of Dunfermline dating from David I's reign, and Pluscarden, founded by Alexander II c. 1232, for monks of the Burgundian order of Val des Choux. In 1454 the two houses were merged into one convent resident at Pluscarden, and much of its buildings survive. Once, in the course of this interesting but irritating book, the author is on the point of making a useful contribution to the history of Pluscarden, but is too timid to give it proper emphasis. He has seen that Val-Croissant (dioc. Autun) was the first daughter-house of Val des Choux, and also that *acta* of the bishop of Moray in 1232 were witnessed by Nicholas, monk of Val-Croissant. This senior monk no doubt played in the successful establishment of Valliscaulian Pluscarden much the same rôle that Prior Nicholas of Sixhills played in the contemporary but abortive founding of Gilbertine Dalmilling (Ayrshire), supervising the advance party of monks and their reception. Foundation was a process which must have occupied several years. Caution where boldness was required is matched elsewhere by recklessness where care and moderation were called for. If Mr. Anson sees in Scottish history 'a picture painted in harsh crude colours' that is his affair, but it does not give him warrant for attributing three bastard children to the chaste-living David I, or for saying that monasteries were founded primarily to 'cow the "aborigines"', or that 'it is fairly easy to know the conditions of the various classes of tenants on the Pluscarden estates during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries'. Mr. Anson telescopes the granting of land in Moray to Dunfermline with the founding of a cell at Urquhart to which this land was transferred. Yet, in spite of great and small errors and a picture of medieval Scotland which seems wrong in certain fundamentals, Mr. Anson's book contains valuable information and perhaps its peculiar merit is to bring the story of Pluscarden down to the present, when a small Benedictine community once more maintains the religious life there in circumstances very different from those of the monks who in the 1230s made the long journey from the Vale of Cabbages to the beautiful Vale of St. Andrew.

University College, London

G. W. S. BARROW

A HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL AND THE MEN ASSOCIATED WITH IT. Edited by W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins. London: Phoenix House. 1957. xxiii + 380 pp. 52 plates. 50s.

This is a worthwhile study. The first chapter, by Professor C. N. L. Brooke, is an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of medieval cathedral

communities, their recruitment, their occupations and their sources of income. The chief new materials for St. Paul's are the c. 1000 Rule of St. Paul's, the c. 1080 Register of the Prebends, and some of the canons' wills. The affairs of St. Paul's are well set in the wider context of other cathedrals. The bibliography is remarkably full and collates scattered little-known sources. One query: surely the almonry school was never a grammar school?

Dr. E. F. Carpenter's chapter on the Reformation is a discursive history, with contemporary excerpts, of ceremonies, preachings at Paul's Cross, religious changes, and cathedral reforms by Dean Colet and others. The Rev. A. Tindal Hart contributes an interesting account of the disgraceful state of St. Paul's in 1660, and of the proposal, in May 1666, to build a dome. Wren's original report of the Fire damage is given, and the life history of each dean. From 1727 this rich deanery was held 'in commendam' for 100 years. Eleven deans were bishops too: four deans rose directly to the primacy. In the 'Age of Reform, 1831–1934,' the Rev. W. M. Atkins recounts the disastrous loss of the cathedral estates in return for a fixed annual sum, the gradual extension of services into the nave, the affairs of the choir (there is an 1836 account of the life of the resident choir boys), the growing anxiety over the fabric, and the new statutes of 1934–36, which specially affected the status of the minor canons and vicars choral. Dean Matthews provides a good first-hand record of the war years and events before and after. Finally M. S. Briggs in a brief account of the fabric details the many designs, the master craftsmen, the underlying soil hazards, and the results of the war. A good fresh architectural appraisal omits the neat planning of the four small rooms round the dome, and the use for the library of the high wall overtopping the aisle.

The book's worst defect is its entirely inadequate index. Also, why not for Plate 10 reproduce Wyngaerde's delicate drawing of St. Paul's, c. 1543, rather than a reconstruction in which Jesus Steeple and the Charnel House are wrongly sited? There are pictures of some of the bishops; a list of them would have been helpful.

M. B. HONEYBOURNE

The publication of the VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF STAFFORD continues with two volumes edited by Miss L. M. Midgley. Vol. IV (O.U.P. for the Institute of Historical Research. 1958. xxiii + 197 pp. 84s.) contains the Staffordshire Domesday and the articles on the parishes of West Cuttlestone Hundred, vol. V (1959. xxiii + 199 pp. 84s.) contains the articles on East Cuttlestone Hundred. Mr. C. F. Slade's translation of the Staffordshire Domesday will be welcomed not only by all who are interested in the history of Staffordshire but also by students of Domesday itself. A great deal of careful work has gone into its preparation, not least in the identification of place-names. In the introduction Mr. Slade discusses a variety of topics including the hidation of the county, the history of its settlement, the economic and tenurial consequences of the Norman Conquest and the rural population in 1086. It is a pity that the numbers given to each entry in the translation have not been used in the introduction. If the example of the *Wiltshire VCH* had been followed, cross reference from the introduction to the translation would have been made much easier. The greater part of these volumes is filled with topographical articles following the familiar

VCH pattern in which the sections on topography, manorial descent and the church predominate. The articles contain a lot of valuable information, particularly of a genealogical and architectural kind, and will certainly serve for many years as an indispensable guide to the source material for these parishes. But even with the shorter sections on schools, charities, non-conformity, mills, etc., these articles are hardly parish histories. The activities and achievements of the people who lived in these parishes, as opposed to those of the landlords who frequently lived elsewhere, hardly get the attention they deserve. In particular the space devoted to agriculture which was, and in many cases still is, the main business of these villages is disproportionately small. It is a pity that more violence has not been done to the traditional Victorian pattern. These volumes are illustrated by a variety of photographs (some aerial), prints, drawings, dated plans of churches and far too few maps.

University of Birmingham

P. H. SAWYER

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF OXFORD, vol. vi, PLOUGHLEY HUNDRED.

Ed. Mary D. Lobel. Victoria History of the Counties of England, published for the Institute of Historical Research by the O.U.P. 1959.
xxvii + 389 pp. 12s.

Oxfordshire lacks a seventeenth-century county history, White Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities* being its nearest substitute. A particular importance is therefore to be attached to the topographical volumes of its *Victoria County History*, and it is gratifying to record that in the present volume both editor and contributors have risen to the occasion nobly. Ploughley hundred (the two-and-a-half hundreds which depended on Kirtlington in 1086) stretches from Otmoor to the Northamptonshire border and contains thirty-two villages and the market town of Bicester. Each of these is given an article (usually about 10,000 words) containing a general description followed by sections on the manor(s), economic history, church, nonconformity, schools and charities—only in the well-named village of Hampton Gay were the last three totally unknown. The manorial histories necessarily constitute the backbone of the work and contain much useful genealogical work, throwing new light, for example, on the early history of the Camvilles and the De Courcys. The descriptions and architectural histories of the churches and other monuments are notably well documented and are brought down to the present day. They are supplemented by a valuable series of reproductions of early nineteenth-century drawings, mostly published for the first time, and in the case of Bicester by a map to show its historic development. But the most notable feature of the present volume is the scope and general interest of the sections on economic history. Attention may particularly be drawn to the agrarian history of Islip and Launton (both well documented since they belonged to Westminster Abbey), to the many references to the incidence of the Black Death (heavy in Bicester and Cottisford, but light in Charlton-on-Otmoor), to the eight pre-enclosure maps and detailed accounts of the enclosures themselves, and to the state of the poor in the early nineteenth century (well documented at Finmere). This is a volume which is not only comprehensive, but also interesting. It reflects great credit on all concerned.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. G. DAVIS

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THE PLACE OF ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH-CENTURY RENAISSANCE¹

R. W. SOUTHERN

Balliol College, Oxford

THE TITLE of this paper lays me open to attack from two sides. First, was there a Renaissance in the twelfth century? Has the term any meaning? And, if it has, is it justly applicable to this century? For the last twenty-five years, since the appearance of Haskins' book with this title, the phrase has had a wide currency, but recently Professor Nitze has attacked the use of the phrase as misleading and inexact.² I have no wish to enter into this controversy, which in any case seems to attach too much importance to a mere term of convenience which can mean almost anything we choose to make it mean: all I wish to refer to is the large and complex activity in literature, learning and the arts which drew on many sources, yet expressed an outlook which one feels at once to be new and subtly yet unmistakably coherent. As a portmanteau description of this activity I would stand by Haskins in believing that the term 'Renaissance' is no more misleading than any other word. It achieves indeed the sort of sublime meaninglessness which is required in words of high but uncertain import.

But then, it may be said, is it not wrong to speak as if England had any special or distinguishable place in this activity? Is it not rather true that England had a place simply in so far as she fell in with and became imbued with the spirit and techniques of continental, and particularly French, ways of doing things? Messrs. Paré, Brunet and Tremblay have written an excellent book on the 'Renaissance du XII^e siècle' with scarcely a glance across the Channel, and it is easy to feel the force of this point of view. In the great matters of the twelfth century (it might be said), England played a part so secondary and derivative that only an excess of national pride could impel one to insist on it. In the development of the methods of theological discussion and systematization, in the extraordinary growth in the sciences of logic and grammar, in the great achievements of the canon lawyers, in the new forms of religious organization, in the emergence of a new style of architecture, in the creation of a vernacular poetry of more than provincial interest—in all this the impulse comes from France and Italy. This is the superficial

¹ A paper read to the Anglo-American Historical Conference, July 1953.

² 'The so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance', *Speculum*, xxiii (1948), 464–71.

picture. But we may agree that it is broadly true, even when we remember that the effective founder of the Cistercian Order was an Englishman, that the earliest and best form of the *Chanson de Roland* is found in England and may have been made here, that Durham Cathedral in all its Romanesque splendour exhibits also the first tentative steps towards the organic use of the pointed arch which is the essence of Gothic. These are not negligible qualifications to too sweeping a generalization, and it is possible to press them a little further.

In the first place, it is chiefly and perhaps only in the development of systematic theology that England is very conspicuously a sterile soil compared with France. And even here a clear distinction must be made between the barrenness of England and the fruitfulness of Englishmen abroad. Gilbert the Universal, Adam of Petit Pont, Robert of Melun, Robert Pullen, Stephen Langton, are not names among the very highest, but they are in the first flight of those responsible for the organization of theological knowledge in the twelfth century. There is not much in their names to remind us of their English origin, but English they undoubtedly were, like the less well-known canonists only now emerging as considerable figures, Richard Lacy, *Gilbertus Anglicus* and Alanus.

If we wish to find an explanation for the curious distribution of English intellectual effort in the twelfth century, we must look far back into the conditions of late Anglo-Saxon England. There is good reason for this: although genius appears without warning, cultural movements of great magnitude require a long preparation. This is true of France and Italy as well as England. Their twelfth-century achievements go back demonstrably to the period of preparation in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It was at this time that the schools were formed which provided the masters, the books, and the discipline on which the Summas, the Questiones, the Distinctiones and so on of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were based. The useful compendium of Mgr. Emile Lesne on the schools of France from the eighth to the thirteenth century makes it clear that scholastic activity was a sort of epidemic in France, and particularly in Northern France, from the early years of the eleventh century. He can cite some twenty schools in France, north of the Loire alone, whose continuous existence can be traced from this time until the end of the twelfth century.³ All the famous schools are in this list—Paris, Chartres, Rheims, Orleans, etc.—but one must not forget that they were sustained by an intellectual excitement which brought many lesser places into being at the same time. The more one reflects on the eleventh century, the more one sees how essential was the material and intellectual foundation which it laid for the achievements of the succeeding century.

Now of all this preparation, which was well under way by 1066,

³ E. Lesne, *Histoire de la Propriété Ecclésiastique en France*, vol. v: *Les écoles de la fin du viii siècle à la fin du xiii siècle*, 1940.

Anglo-Saxon England shows not a single trace. In our anxiety to do belated justice to pre-Conquest England we are sometimes tempted to forget this fact, yet it is one of very far reaching importance. The whole scholastic technique of the Berengar-Lanfranc dispute in the 1050s, with its logical and grammatical emphasis and its taking for granted a common discipline and background, was utterly unknown (so far as any evidence we have goes) in contemporary England. Did English libraries even possess the books from which the new points at issue and the new ways of discussing them sprang? It seems very doubtful. The way in which English monastic and cathedral libraries had to build up their collections of even the commonest patristic texts in the early twelfth century—a process which can often be followed in detail owing to the habit of copying annotations from one copy to another—points to the general poverty of late Anglo-Saxon manuscript resources in those fields which were most necessary for the scholastic preparation of the future. I know no study of the learned resources of late Anglo-Saxon England, but a cursory reading of the works of Aelfric and Byrhtferth conveys the impression that these resources were extremely limited. Charming and personal though the note of some of these works is, the atmosphere is that of the immediate successors of Bede. Bede is the dominating figure in their intellectual world (as he still was a century later in the historical world of William of Malmesbury). In England—Bede; in Northern France—Boethius: the difference is the measure of the intellectual distance between the two countries.

And if late Anglo-Saxon England did not have the scholastic books, still less did it have the schools to make use of them. The religious movement of the tenth century in England had been essentially, even bitterly, monastic; and the secular cathedrals which escaped the engulfing monastic wave were mostly either obscure or poorly endowed. But just at this time it was the secular schools which were more and more imposing their character on the studies of Northern France—their secular character was an essential condition of their growth and achievement. It was only by accident that a school like that of Bec for a time competed with them. The new learning of the eleventh century could scarcely flourish outside the atmosphere of debate and competition for which the secular cathedrals offered such a favourable scene. England, on the other hand, was short of secular cathedrals but even shorter in the zeal for debate and definition: both the impulse to follow in the footsteps of the French secular schools and the means for doing so were lacking.

The effects of this failure are evident in England till the very end of the twelfth century. The cathedral schools of England are quite a century behind those of Northern France in their development; they came on the scene when those of France had already a resounding reputation; and though there is a good deal of evidence for some of

them—Lincoln, Exeter, London—achieving a certain limited repute at some period or other in the twelfth century, it is very difficult to find much achievement to justify that repute or to say that any traditions were established which survived from master to master. England's scholastic development virtually skips the age of the great cathedral schools, and learning passes from the monasteries to the universities without any break in time.

Thus it came about that the English scholars of the twelfth century were above all men who travelled abroad for their learning. In so far as they travelled abroad, settled down in foreign schools and did their life's work in them, they pass from our present view. But some of them came back, and here once more the circumstances of England could operate in moulding their work. The effects of these circumstances worked in various ways. Since England had no strongly formed school tradition such as that which had been hammered out in Northern France in the eleventh century, Englishmen with scholarly tastes tended to cast their net more widely than those who were brought up in a carefully formed tradition. Their effort was more dispersed, less immediately effective, but sometimes full of suggestion for the future. Thus Englishmen stood in the very forefront in advancing the western knowledge of the natural science of the ancients. Since they had in any case to go abroad for the latest knowledge, it was natural that some of them should go a step farther than Paris or Bologna, and go to Toledo or Salerno, or step aside to Montpellier. And once the richness of the seam which was here opened up was disclosed, it was natural that others should follow in their footsteps. M. Defourneaux has recently written a substantial volume about the Frenchman in Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁴ He has a great deal to say about Crusaders and colonists, but nothing about scholars—they had enough to do at home in France. A book about Englishmen in Spain during the same period would make an illuminating contrast. English Crusaders and colonists in the Peninsula are non-existent if we except the chance intervention at Lisbon in 1147. But there is nothing fortuitous about the presence of the English scholars whose journeys to Spain made a real—though at present still tantalizingly obscure—mark in European scholarship. Their achievement was outstanding. But it is not this which I wish at this moment to emphasize so much as the fact that they came back to England. The number which Spain could absorb was, compared with those whom the schools of France could absorb, very small, and it was therefore in England that they mostly wrote their books. These books established a tradition in natural science which became part of the stuff of English, and particularly of Oxford, studies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was probably Robert Grosseteste who canalized this widely scattered tradition of scientific learning and made it at home in Oxford; and if this is true his labours

⁴ M. Defourneaux, *Les Français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, 1949.

between about 1200 and 1229 represented a dramatic maturing after a century of preparation.

It was not only the scientists who came back to give their new learning a native air, though they deserve a special place of honour for the permanent importance of their contribution. Theologians, lawyers and students of the arts also returned, and their return had reactions in the field of literature. For the most part, like modern university graduates, they found their work in administration: England, if not a country of schools, was a country of courts. The returned English scholar found himself plunged into a world of intense activity and it is probable that, at least at first, he was regarded with the same sort of jealousy and suspicion which a modern English graduate finds when he goes into industry. He was a man with obscure but potent advantages. He had to turn his foreign learning to some practical use, and it is sometimes impressive and sometimes rather pathetic to see how anxiously he injects his learning into the affairs of everyday life. Nowhere else but in England is there such a large literature so full of the learning of the schools in its reference to the practical life: that large area of half speculation, half practical wisdom in which Englishmen have excelled from Sir Thomas More to the late Master of Balliol.

John of Salisbury is the father of this type of literature. His *Metalogicon*—the greatest example in the twelfth century of standing at arm's length from a large body of well-understood learning and viewing it dispassionately—reflects the uncomfortable position of the scholar in administration in the middle years of the twelfth century:

I could ward off [he says] in silence the cavilling of my fellow scholars and of those who call themselves philosophers, but I cannot altogether escape the teeth of my fellow civil servants. To accommodate oneself to everyone and to hurt no-one used to be a sufficient path to favour; but now it rarely suffices to suppress the envy of one's colleagues. Am I silent? I am thought to be unlearned. If I am talkative, I am accused of being a bore. If serious I am said to be an intriguer, and if merry a fool. If I had consumed my time with my colleagues in gambling, hunting and other employments of courtiers, they would have attacked my writings as little as I do theirs. However it is nothing to me if I am judged by those who fear most the judgements of clowns and fools.⁵

The position of the scholar among the philistines became easier as the century went on, but the desire of the scholar to justify himself or to leaven his surroundings remained unabated and impelled him to write. There is no need now to labour this point. John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, Walter Map's *Courtiers' Trifles*, Giraldus Cambrensis *On the Instruction of a Prince* stand at the head of the works in this class, and—at the level of mere usefulness—Professor Kuttner and Mr. Richardson have shown something of the patient work which was going on (largely as yet unobserved by historians) in the teaching and adaptation of canon

⁵ *Metalogicon*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, *Prol.* I have shortened the passage somewhat in translation.

law and Roman law principles to practical life. This intense concentration on practice is—perhaps of necessity—the striking characteristic of the English scholar on his return from the schools of Northern France and Italy.

One must not, of course, exaggerate the distinction between France and England in the opportunities they afforded for learned clerks: in France, too, men went from the schools to the chanceries of kings and bishops, and sometimes they wrote books. But their books seem less affected by their practical experiences than those of their counterparts in England. Partly perhaps the appeal of government to the imagination was less, partly the ‘pull’ of the schools was greater: in any case they produced no literature comparable to that produced in England. We might expect a work like the *Policraticus* for instance from Hugh of Champ-fleury, who, after being a master in the schools of Paris was chancellor of the king of France from 1150 to 1172. But the book which he wrote in the middle of this period—his *Otium*, written, as he tells us, from year to year as a kind of intimate journal for his sister—breathes not a word about government.⁸ It is a book of mild and watered-down theology. The contrast between this and the works of the English administrative scholars is instructive.



So far we have been following the distant—and sometimes fruitful—consequences of one of the deficiencies of late Anglo-Saxon England—the lack of secular schools and the absence of that technical preparation which bore fruit in the French and Italian schools of the twelfth century. But this deficiency had also a positive quality, and it is to this and to its distant consequences that I now wish to turn. First of all, however, I must attempt some description, however inadequate, of what I mean by this positive quality. In a word it is this: while the tendency of the secular schools of Northern France in the eleventh century was to make learning more technical, more professional and more remote from the understanding of ordinary people, the works of the scholars of the late Anglo-Saxon period made the wider audience outside the schools the special point and focus of their attention. In this they were in line with the tradition of Carolingian learning. But to be conservative is sometimes indistinguishable from being revolutionary; and though this would be too strong a word to apply to the rigidly unprogressive writings of Aelfric and Byrhtferth, yet the fact that they were addressed in the vernacular to upland priests and laymen such as the ealdorman Aethelweard and his son Aethelmaer gave a very special emphasis to the traditionalism of the Anglo-Saxon authors.

The late Anglo-Saxon writers made the unlearned lay world their special concern. But it would not be correct to conclude that the laity in

⁸ See A. Wilmart, ‘Les “loisirs” ou sentiments intimes d’un Chancelier de France’, *Revue Bénédictine*, li (1939), 182–204.

France was untouched by the scholastic debates of the great schools. On the contrary, it is quite clear that in the dispute between Berengar and Lanfranc, a large number of people, laymen as well as clerks, were ready to take sides. But these supporters are like the followers of a hunt: they can enjoy the spectacle, but it is not put on for their pleasure. The great men of the French schools wrote for the schools. They were not interested in the crowd, which for various reasons, and without reading or understanding a word they wrote, supported or execrated them. They form a striking contrast to the English authors in this respect.

The English scholar of the period immediately before the Conquest was more of an amateur than his contemporary in Northern France. But Englishmen were arriving at some of the same results by a different—sometimes a more direct—route. To take a very well-known example: while highly trained and disciplined men like Fulbert at Chartres and Anselm at Bec were slowly working towards a view of things which placed the rôle of the Blessed Virgin in the scheme of man's redemption in a new and more vivid light than ever before, the Anglo-Saxon church, without a single glance at theory and without apparently feeling any need for literary expression, had leaped several moves ahead in the practical observance of the feast of the Conception of the Virgin, the theoretical import of which was to exercise scholars for a very long time to come. Or, to take another example, in the mid-eleventh century the most ardent and devoted monastic spirits of Northern France were straining towards the expression of a more personal and effective piety than had satisfied the instincts of their predecessors. They were finding words to express their more intimate realization of the sufferings and meaning of the Passion. In the English monasteries at this time there is not a word expressing any similar stirrings. Nevertheless, we have clear evidence in the representations of the Passion in English manuscripts that the essential point of the new movement had been grasped, possibly even earlier and more poignantly than on the Continent. Professor Wormald has reproduced the most affecting of these pictures in his lecture on the 'Survival of Anglo-Saxon Illumination after the Norman Conquest', and the fact that the manuscript in which it occurs was made for a lady, the Countess Judith, wife of Tostig Earl of Northumbria, who is herself represented in the picture, once more emphasizes the close connection between lay society and the monasteries in England, not only in learning but in pious aspirations and devotional usages.⁷

This lack of specialization, this note of personal piety more distinct than corporate discipline, this intensity of imagination which in some measure compensated for a deficiency in intellectual training, seem to me the chief features of English effort on the eve of the Conquest. And

⁷ Professor Wormald's lecture is printed in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxx (1944). He kindly allowed me to borrow his plate and reproduce it in *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 1953.

these are the very features which I think can be shown to distinguish the Anglo-Norman achievement throughout the twelfth century.

The English Renaissance of the twelfth century was, scarcely less than that of France, both limited and informed by its local preparation in the eleventh century. The greatest single reason for this was the physical continuity of the Old English monasteries, which slowly imposed their traditions on the Conquerors. The continuity of their estates called for the study of documents going back to the tenth century or beyond; the defence of their liturgical practices, the dignity of their saints and the genuineness of their relics inspired a major effort of historical research. The Canterbury monastic *esprit de corps*, which (despite all that has been said about Lanfranc) was the real driving force in the dispute with York over the Primacy, called for a great though misjudged attempt to interpret the Anglo-Saxon past. Above all, the sense that the Old English church had a treasure which was in danger of being lost imposed itself strongly on the imagination of Englishmen in the century after the Conquest. Even the Anglo-Normans of the first half of the twelfth century experienced a nostalgia for the Anglo-Saxon past; and if this is less conspicuous in the second half of the century, the reason is largely that Englishmen and Normans alike had been put, imaginatively, in possession of the Old English past by the efforts of men like Goscelin, Osbern of Canterbury, Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, Florence and John of Worcester, Osbert of Clare, Ailred of Rievaulx, the authors of the *Leges Henrici* and the *Leges Edwardi*, of Hemming's Cartulary and the *Textus Roffensis*, by the efforts of those who had achieved the rehabilitation of the Anglo-Saxon saints, and had crowned their work by the canonization of Edward the Confessor.

This work of rehabilitation was the greatest intellectual achievement of twelfth-century England, and gives the Anglo-Norman historical movement a place beside the historical movements of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries as one of the outstanding moments of historical research. But it might be said that the very importance and success of this effort at historical comprehension only shows how much of the past had been lost as a living force, and how little continuity there was in the conditions, limitations and habits of thought which bound the post-Conquest English to their predecessors. This is only partly true. The men who kept alive the Anglo-Saxon heritage were certainly inspired in large measure by the desire to justify the past in the midst of a hostile world, but they were inspired to do this precisely because they—at Canterbury, Worcester, Malmesbury or Westminster—had firmer roots in the past than those outside the monasteries. Quite apart from their sense of corporate and physical continuity there must have been many men of English birth and English memories in the monasteries of, say, 1125—many more than the names of their bishops or abbots would suggest. One has only to read the personal names inscribed in the mortuary rolls of the abbess Matilda of Caen in 1113 or Abbot Vitalis

of Savigny in 1122 to be aware of this. The existence of such men in such circumstances was the chief guarantee that the Anglo-Saxon tradition would survive; and the fact that it survived under such difficulties imparted an intensity to the past, which nothing else could have given. The situation of these English monasteries in the early twelfth century with their long traditions, their pride, their rivalry, their awakening to new ideas and their realization that some of the newest ideas were very like some old ones which had only lately been scoffed at—this situation was indeed very complex and perhaps more exciting than we can easily imagine.

But, apart from those historical labours which—important though they are to us—never crossed the Channel and never played the slightest part in forming the wider culture of Europe, did the English monasteries produce anything which was both distinctive and destined in some measure to form part of the general heritage of Europe? I think they did.

Here are a few examples.

1. I have mentioned the importance of Englishmen in introducing Arabic science to the West in the twelfth century, and perhaps I gave the impression that this was a chance result of their having to travel *somewhere* in pursuit of learning, since it was not to be had at home, and that a few of them found their way accidentally to Spain. Such an impression, however, would be mistaken. The scientific interests of the twelfth century stem directly from the interest in the calendar and in technical chronology which was a permanent interest in English monastic circles from the time of Bede. This interest, which is notably illustrated by Byrhtferth's Manual in the early years of the eleventh century and by the works which Abbo of Fleury wrote for the monks of Ramsey, was very much alive in England in the last half of the eleventh century, particularly in the circle of Wulfstan at Worcester. It is well known that Wulfstan's friend Robert of Hereford introduced the chronicle of Marianus Scotus into England, and that Wulfstan was sufficiently imbued with his friend's enthusiasm to have a copy made for Worcester. It is also well known that he thus set afoot (in some way which is not precisely clear) the grafting of English history on to this vast work to form the Chronicle which goes under the name of Florence of Worcester. It was in this way that one of the most valuable sources for Anglo-Norman history came into existence. But we must not let the interest of the Chronicle obscure the fact that Robert of Hereford's chief interest was in technical problems of chronology, and that these in their turn were connected with problems of mathematics and astronomy. This interest was fully shared at Worcester in Wulfstan's day, as the Easter tables composed there at this time testify.

An underestimate of the scientific interests of the time has had an unexpected result in English historiography. It has led generations of scholars to attribute to Florence of Worcester the continuation of the Chronicle of Marianus Scotus into the reigns of William Rufus and

Henry I, for which he was certainly not responsible. Professor Darlington has already exposed the error by applying some historical tests which are brief and convincing.⁸ But if we look at the matter more discursively we can see that the basis of the error was a failure to take account of interests which are not ours. The association of the name of Florence with the Worcester chronicle comes from the passage under the year 1118 commemorating his death:

On July 7th, Dom Florence, monk of Worcester, died. It was through his fine scholarship (*subtili scientia*) and learned labours that this Chronicle of chronicles excels all others.

Reading this passage in the light of their own historical interests, scholars concluded that Florence was the author of the chronicle down to this point, just as Matthew Paris was the author of the St. Albans chronicle down to the point where the end of his labours is recorded in 1259. The wording of the St. Albans chronicle leaves no doubt that Matthew Paris was the author of the preceding chronicle; but the Worcester entry of 1118 speaks of scholarship and learning, not of contemporary journalism, of however high an order. The science of chronology can easily be overlooked now that it has been relegated to the outer fringe of our intellectual world. But it has not always been so peripheral: it was not so in Worcester in the early twelfth century.

If Robert of Hereford stimulated the interest of the Worcester monks in the problems of chronology, another Lorrainer, a certain Walcher, prior of Malvern, was probably the centre of another scientific group in the west country. Almost everything about the personal relationships of this group is obscure, though we may note that Walcher is one of the few men to whom William of Malmesbury acknowledges a debt.⁹ More important, he was the first man in England, as far as we know, to use the Arabic astronomical instrument known as the astrolabe. And, still more important, he was the first man in England to tap Arabic science at its source, for he seems to have acted as a kind of interpreter or amanuensis to a converted Jew from Spain, Petrus Alphonsi, who came to England some time after 1106 and was physician to Henry I. Petrus Alphonsi was a very important link in the dissemination of Eastern stories among the Latins. Was it he also who stimulated the movement of Englishmen to Spain which began with Adelard of Bath? We know too little to say; but there seems to be a coherence between this little group of scholars in the west of England and the first steps in the scientific movement, which was itself a natural development of the studies of the Old English monasteries. The magnificent early twelfth-century volume from Worcester now in the Bodleian (Auct. F. 1.9) which contains work of all these four men—Robert of Hereford, Walcher of Malvern, Petrus Alphonsi and Adelard of Bath—is a good

⁸ R. R. Darlington, *Anglo-Norman Historians: an Inaugural Lecture*, 1947.

⁹ *Gesta Regum*, ed. Stubbs (Rolls Series), ii. 346.

illustration of the way in which scientific interests could develop from monastic studies of the most old-fashioned kind, and find a home in the most conservative of the English monasteries.

2. Of all the new things produced in the twelfth century, one of the newest, and most suggestive of popular ways of thought, were the so-called Mary-legends.¹⁰ They deserve attention for several reasons. In the first place, their popularity was immense. By the end of the middle ages several thousands of these stories were in circulation. Yet at the beginning of the twelfth century it was difficult to find even a dozen. They were substantially a creation of the twelfth century. Many of them dealt with marvels quite unlike the general run of miracles of healing and vengeance: they introduced a new note of fantasy into Western ideas of the miraculous. Their special purpose was to encourage devotional practices which were themselves new or just gaining general currency in the late eleventh century. Although these practices were developed in the monasteries, it was one of the purposes of these stories to show how efficacious they were also for the laity—a purpose which was the more easily fulfilled since many of these practices demanded no great expenditure of time or concentration of effort. They could be carried out on horseback quite as well as in a monastery.

Whether we consider these stories as literature, or imagination, or as evidence for the development of the lay religion of the middle ages, they have a value far in excess of their plain historical veracity, which is demonstrably of a very low order. They are a literary counterpart to such grand iconographical conceptions as that at Notre Dame in Paris; and this identity of aim, combined with the fact that so many of the versions are in French and achieved a remarkable popularity in France in the later middle ages, gives them a specially French look to our eyes. But, despite this French look, there can, I think, be no doubt that their real cradle was in the English monasteries of Anglo-Saxon origin, particularly Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Malmesbury and Evesham in the first thirty or forty years of the twelfth century. It would take too long to enter fully into the details of the case but substantially they amount to this:

The idea of such a collection of stories seems to have been first formed by the young Anselm, nephew of the archbishop, who became abbot of Bury St. Edmunds in 1120. He made a beginning with a collection of stories from foreign sources, but it was not until he came to England that he struck a really rich vein of contemporary or nearly contemporary stories. His final collection, which was in existence about 1125, consisted of about forty stories. At about the same time Dominic, prior of Evesham, made an independent collection of fourteen stories, and shortly afterwards William of Malmesbury put together about fifty-five stories and wrote a remarkable preface

¹⁰ I have developed the theme of the following paragraphs in 'The English Origins of the Miracles of the Virgin', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, iv (1958), 176–216.

which, like the similar works of Eadmer, breathes the spirit of Anglo-Saxon devotion. This collection of stories belongs to the last period of William's life when he had written his *Gesta Regum* and the *Gesta Pontificum*. They are the biggest and, I think, most interesting of his later works. They achieved no popularity and have never been published, and they have been almost forgotten by historians who value William mainly as a writer of mordant and original contemporary history.¹¹ Even in his own day William's collection was not well known, but within a very few years of its appearance a considerable scholar in London, a certain Master Alberic, canon of St. Paul's, owned and perhaps himself arranged the collections of his three predecessors, Anselm, Dominic and William, and this edition achieved a considerable success. Quite soon it was translated into French by another Londoner, a clerk called Algar, and thereafter the anonymous fame of these collections, which underwent almost every possible form of mutilation, rearrangement and addition, knew almost no bounds. They crossed the Channel and became part of the vernacular literature of every European country. But, despite the bewildering anonymity and immensity of their later diffusion, it seems that every step in the early history of the collection, down to and including the earliest translation into French, has an English context in the great monasteries of Anglo-Saxon origin.

The history of these Mary stories is only one example of the part which England played as a sort of nodal point for the gathering together and rediffusion of legends and marvels of every kind. I am far from saying that England was unique in this respect, but she certainly did more than her fair share. It was not a question of nationality but of history, geography and opportunity. Geoffrey of Monmouth is a host in himself, but he only seized a general opportunity most successfully. William of Malmesbury had a passion for the marvellous which he indulged at every opportunity: among many notable marvels in the *Gesta Regum*, it is here that we first find a fully developed series of stories about the magical powers of Gerbert (Silvester II) and about the wonders of Rome. Then John of Salisbury is the first man in Europe to mention the stories of Virgil the magician, which later achieved such an immense popularity. It was from England also, by way of Petrus Alphonsi, that Eastern legends first seem to have been disseminated in a Latin form: and it was from England that there came the most substantial contribution to the literature of visions which purported to give detailed pictures of the other world. Henry of Sawtrey, Adam of Eynsham, and the vision of Thurkill first reported by Ralph of Coggeshall, kept alive and developed with ever greater intricacy and power of imagination a form of experience which went back, so far as Englishmen were concerned, to Bede. Recently the vision of the Yorkshireman Orm, which he experienced in 1125, has been added to the published

¹¹ The omission has now been repaired by Mr. P. N. Carter, who has prepared an edition of William's collection.

literature on this subject.¹² All these wonders provided inexhaustible material for the literature of the later middle ages.

There are many other forms of expressing this habit of mind than in literature. William of Malmesbury tells us that Henry I was enchanted by the marvels of foreign lands, and perhaps we do not take his menagerie seriously enough as an expression of this enchantment. Henry II was certainly subject to the same enchantment, and the abbreviation of Pliny's *Natural History* which Robert of Cricklade made for him was an attempt to minister to it. The great importance of the English twelfth-century illustrated manuscripts of the bestiary, herbals, lapidaries, of the 'Marvels of the East' and (a little later) of the Apocalypse, bears witness to the same habit of thought. For Science and Marvels, it must be remembered, are almost interchangeable terms.

3. The third illustration I should like to give of the distinctive part played by England in the twelfth century lies in the ability to give a personal, intimate and (it would not be wrong to say) popular turn to the thoughts of the great leaders of contemporary thought and experience. This ability is most obvious in the case of St. Anselm. Here was the greatest abstract thinker in Europe set down in the midst of great trouble in a monastic community which had gone through upheavals sufficient, one might think, to destroy every thought of its past—destruction and fire, rebuilding, importation of foreign monks, reorganization on a foreign model and so on. Yet the tenacity of the past was enormous, and showed itself in what the monks of Canterbury drew from this great man. The more formal aspects of his thought had little effect on them, but it was they more than anyone else who made him the figure known in the later middle ages—a writer, that is to say, who carried a large penumbra of spurious works, conceived in his spirit and produced under his influence. In some ways the most remarkable of these, since it constituted almost a new branch of literature and enjoyed an immense popularity throughout Europe from the thirteenth century onwards, was the treatise known as Anselm's *Similitudines*. The core of this treatise was the account of Anselm's conversation written down by the Canterbury monk Alexander and later enlarged by examples of similar discourses which had been reported by Eadmer. No doubt it was something which almost anyone could have done, and yet it required imagination to see that that was just what needed doing. This unassuming, and originally anonymous, compilation stands at the head of a little literature of its own in which perhaps Boswell is the greatest name.

What we can confidently assert that Englishmen did for St. Anselm it would be too much to claim that they did for St. Bernard. St. Bernard is altogether a more powerful personality, and his influence could not be canalized so easily as St. Anselm's. Besides he had no physical contact with England at all. Yet, considering this great

¹² Dom Hugh Farmer, 'The Vision of Orm', *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxxv (1957), 72–82.

limitation, the English contribution to the Bernardine penumbra is very considerable. It is, for instance, almost beyond doubt that the greatest popular expression of Cistercian piety—the long, ardent, somewhat shapeless but intensely personal hymn or meditation on the name of Jesus, the *Dulcis Jesu memoria*—was produced in England.¹³ This piece, which sums up in a few lines what Cîteaux meant in the experience of countless nameless people, has an English as well as a Cistercian context, and belongs to a strain of piety discernible in England from the school of Anselm to Richard Rolle. And if we are discouraged by the anonymity of this and other notable works of English Cistercians of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, we may take heart by remembering how richly one figure has unfolded himself in the last thirty years.

Thirty years ago Ailred of Rievaulx was simply a name on a volume of Migne. Then Professor Powicke published his life by Walter Daniel, and since then Dom Wilmart, Professor Knowles and others have helped to disclose the man he was. What we now see is a wonderfully subtle blend of old and new, of local and universal. We have all the new Cistercian vocabulary of the spiritual life—the *dulcis, suavis, spiritualis laetitia et jocunditas*—combined with the old local tradition of Hexham and the Anglo-Saxon saints, with the efforts to obtain the canonization of Edward the Confessor and (in the speech of Walter d'Espe at the Battle of the Standard) with one of the most striking of all expressions of Norman pride in their far-flung achievement. What emerges from all this is the picture of a man gathering up many threads and weaving them into the pattern of his personality, rather than of a thinker who has things to say which will stand by themselves apart from their age or circumstances.

The rediscovery of Ailred began with the rediscovery of his biography. And I think this is where the bringing to life of the English achievement in the twelfth century is going to be most difficult: the achievement is so fragile that it needs the backing of personality to sustain it. The Parisian achievements—the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, the *Historica Scholastica* and so on—are large enough facts to stand by themselves; we scarcely even want to know more about their authors—their place in history is more interesting than they are themselves. But when we turn to England, the position is reversed: the works become really interesting only when they illuminate a life. The works of Gilbert of Hoyland (another figure in the Bernardine penumbra) probably disclose as much power as those of Ailred, but who would read them when we know nothing about him?

¹³ Dom A. Wilmart subjected this poem to a most searching literary investigation in his volume, *Le 'Jubilus' dit de S. Bernard* (Rome, 1944). The results fall just short of being quite conclusive. To the eighty-eight manuscripts which he analysed I can make only one addition, but it is perhaps worth mentioning because it is both early and probably English in origin: Troyes MS. 1916, a commonplace-book of a monk John, with the title *Resina Scripturarum*. It would repay further study.

It is quite unlikely that we shall find men of the first rank as original thinkers in the shade of St. Bernard, St. Anselm or any other great men. But we may find men who are surprisingly interesting and sensitive to what is going on in the wider world, yet with a strong sense of their own differences. It is only when we know more about such men that we shall understand at all fully the distinctive place of England in the twelfth-century Renaissance. That there will be many dwarfs and perhaps no giants we may tranquilly expect, for it is the number and diversity of the minor characters which will give (and already do in a measure give) interest and vitality to the scene. It is, after all, already a strangely complex scene which exhibits Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, Anselm of Bury and Ailred of Rievaulx, Petrus Alphonsi and Alfred of Shareshill, the author of the *Dicta of St. Anselm* and the *Jubilus of St. Bernard*, the Miracles of the Virgin and the History of the Kings of Britain. The diversity of the scene, its blend of history (more deeply felt than at any time till the seventeenth century), of imagination and practical insight, of legend and science, may provide some compensation for the lack of the more massive monuments of France in the same period.

* * *

Here my original paper ended. But, reading it again after several years, I am tempted to add, as examples of the kind of discovery which may yet lie ahead, two examples of minor, but significant, characters, who have only recently acquired a substantial being. The first comes from the early twelfth century, the second from its concluding years and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Mr. C. H. Talbot has recently printed, amazingly restored from the charred fragments of the Cottonian manuscript, the contemporary life of the recluse Christina of Markyate, who was born about the end of the eleventh century and died shortly after 1150.¹⁴ Whether considered as literature or life, her biography is as far from greatness as can be imagined. Yet this little epic of provincial manners and aspirations, touchingly reminiscent of Richardson's *Clarissa* six hundred years later, has the capacity to move the heart denied to many greater works. The work raises many problems, but what is indisputable is its testimony to the remarkable profusion of hermitages in England in the first half of the twelfth century. There are hints of this profusion in other sources, but none so clear or vivid as in this *Life*. Most of these hermits were, like Christina, of Anglo-Saxon descent. Her father was a member of that submerged class of English landowners, the gentry, who combined moderate wealth in land with commercial interests and town properties. She and her friends lived on

¹⁴ *The Life of Christina of Markyate, a twelfth-century recluse*, ed. and translated by C. H. Talbot, 1959.

the edge of the great monastic world, where English and continental traditions met. Her life and theirs had in it a great deal of romance as well as hardship. They would certainly be surprised to hear that they were in revolt against the established order, for they enjoyed the patronage of some of the most powerful men of the time and experienced the hostility of their own kindred. Yet they were a challenge to that order. They were like the grass which breaks through and in the end proves more powerful than the marble pavements of the great. And in their aspirations they were far greater than their provincial setting.

My second example is a man until recently even more obscure than Christina. Dom Wilmart, who discovered him, called him a ‘personnage tout neuf—jamais son nom, que je sache, n'a été imprimé’.¹⁵ He is Matthew, precentor of Rievaulx, who was writing as an old or elderly man in the early years of the thirteenth century. In him we have all the Cistercian sweetness—‘sweet as honeycomb’ to use his own phrase—but with it a most sturdy exhibition of local loyalties which we associate rather with the period of Matthew Paris than with the reign of John, and more with St. Albans than Rievaulx. Nowhere else do we find such strong objection to the interdict as a punishment of the innocent instead of the guilty, such outspoken disapproval of John’s submission of the kingdom to the Pope—‘this crime, this fatal yoke’ Matthew calls it—or such sorrowful expostulation at Langton’s suspension by the Pope:

Papa quid egisti? Parcat tua gratia nobis.
Cur sic fecisti, mansuete vicarie Christi?

It is interesting to compare the quality of Matthew’s patriotism with that of Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, or even Ailred of Rievaulx, and to see how little it is formed by his idea of the past. He laments, it is true, the fall of England from her high estate, from being the flower, the pride, the mirror of the world, the golden gem, the queen of lands, to its degradation under John—but the golden past was no farther back than the reign of King Richard. He had no sense of crisis in the historical development of England and his mind passed easily from Elfege and Dunstan to Lanfranc, Anselm, St. Thomas and Stephen Langton.

Matthew of Rievaulx looks to the future and not to the past, and with him we may end. His robust patriotism is, I think, something new, and it prefaces a new phase of English history with which we are not here concerned.

¹⁵ A. Wilmart, ‘Les Mélanges de Mathieu préchante de Rievaulx au début du xiiiie siècle’, *Revue Bénédictine*, lii (1940), 15–84.

CHURCH AND STATE UNDER LOUIS XIV

H. G. JUDGE
St. Catharine's, Cumberland Lodge

THERE WAS, in the France of Louis XIV, no 'problem of Church and State'. The confusion of interests and aims among the clergy was so complex, the orthodox intention of the King himself so inflexible, the determination of some prelates to support him in all circumstances so strong, that only the most abstract theorist could clearly distinguish 'the two cities' in France in the late seventeenth century. There was a preoccupation with finding the right relationship between the French Church and the Pope and in this relationship Louis and his advisers were necessarily implicated, but neither Rome nor the French clergy held consistently to one line of policy in these matters. The interest of the ecclesiastical history of the years 1661-1715 lies therefore in the interaction between the Pope, the King and the many groups within the French Church.

Louis regarded with the utmost seriousness his own right and duty as *Rex Christianissimus* to maintain orthodox Catholicism, of which Rome was admittedly the guardian; at the same time, he and the Parlement—which often proved more intransigent—resented any implication that France depended upon Rome or was obliged to accept the decisions of the Pope without question and without any opportunity to confirm, modify or reject. Louis' attitude to Rome suffered always from this fundamental ambiguity and his inclination towards 'Gallicanism' or 'Ultramontanism' was generally determined by the view which he himself held of the matter under judgement and of all attendant circumstances. He could, as will appear, use the weapons of Rome against ecclesiastical rebels and, in another context, deny all legal force to these very weapons. If Rome agreed with the King of France, Louis was content to be an Ultramontane: otherwise not.

The major internal problem of the French Church in the second half of the century was that of Jansenism. There was for many years little disagreement between King and Pope over the proper treatment of the Jansenists: papal and royal policies were in this matter complementary. Louis was probably no clearer than most people about what precisely Jansenism was,—'it was a great pity', Silvester Jenks observed in 1710, 'so important a matter as Jansenism should be so universally

talk'd of and so little understood¹—but he knew he disliked it. So great was Louis' prejudice that he was alleged to have refused an appointment to a noble suspected of Jansenism but to have granted it when assured that the candidate was, in fact, an atheist.² Louis found good reason for disliking a doctrine which owed so much of its success in France to the abbé de St. Cyran, who never commended himself to the government.³ The early condemnations of Rome had failed to stifle the movement, the growth of which was viewed with increasing alarm by Mazarin, who entirely approved the mistaken belief that if the errors of Jansen were more carefully defined they would cease to be held. It was largely as a result of pressure from France that the Five Propositions attributed to Jansen were condemned by the Bulls of 1653 and 1656, the second Bull attempting to eliminate one Jansenist line of defence by insisting that they were condemned 'in the sense meant by Jansen'.⁴ Meanwhile, a connection had been established between Jansenism and some of the leaders of the Fronde.⁵ This alone would have moved Louis to hate all Jansenists, and soon after 1661 the schools of Port-Royal were closed and the campaign against the Jansenists intensified.⁶ The Cardinal de Retz at last, now that Mazarin was dead and after an exile of eight years, resigned the archbishopric of Paris. He was succeeded by Marca and, in the same year, Péréfixe.⁷ The Formulary which condemned the Five Propositions 'in the sense which Jansen intended' and which had been first devised by Mazarin was now enforced and the Pope incorporated it in the Bull of 1664. Péréfixe, who was no friend of the Jansenists, and the King, his former pupil, insisted on signature of the Formulary without qualifications, and the non-juring nuns of Port-Royal who refused this were exiled on Louis' orders.⁸

It was precisely this signature which was also refused by four of the bishops: Pavillon of Aleth, Buzenval of Beauvais, Henri Arnauld of Angers and Caulet of Pamiers. They took refuge in the famous distinction of *droit* and *fait*, arguing with Pascal that while the Pope's condemnation of the Five Propositions must be accepted, his ruling that the Propositions represented the teaching of Jansen need not, since on such a matter of fact no papal judgement could be infallible.⁹ This

¹ Silvester Jenks, *A Short Review of the Book of Jansenius* (1710), Preface.

² A. Gazier, *Bossuet et Louis XIV* (1914), p. 78.

³ For St. Cyran see J. Laporte, *La Doctrine de Port-Royal*, i (1923).

⁴ The Bulls *Cum Occasione* and *Ad Sanctam*.

⁵ Both Madame de Longueville and the Cardinal de Retz were known to sympathize with the Jansenists. The *Lettres Provinciales* were published in 1656 and 1657.

⁶ H. C. Barnard, *The Little Schools of Port-Royal* (1903), ch. ii.

⁷ Marca, who died in June 1662, had been obliged, before his consecration as a bishop, to explain some of the Gallican opinions expressed in his *De concordia sacerdotii et imperii seu de libertatibus ecclesiae Gallicanae* (1641). See F. Gaquère, *Pierre de Marca* (1932), pp. 233, 237.

⁸ J. Orcibal, *Port-Royal: entre le Miracle et l'Obéissance* (1957), p. 59.

⁹ I believe that the distinction as here applied was first developed by Pascal in the seventeenth and eighteenth of the *Lettres Provinciales*. The common attribution of it to Arnauld seems to be based on a misunderstanding of the way in which he uses the terms (*droit* and *fait*) in his *Seconde Lettre à un Duc et Pair*.

refusal by bishops widely respected in France embarrassed the government and prompted Louis' ministers to seek a compromise. The election of Clement IX in 1668, which was a triumph for French diplomacy, made possible the so-called 'Peace of the Church', the acceptability of which depended upon verbal juggling by de Lione. The reluctant bishops agreed to sign *sincere*, preserving in their consciences the distinction of *droit* and *fait*; in the copies sent to Rome, however, the word *simpliciter* mysteriously but significantly replaced *sincere*.¹⁰ For some years this insecure settlement worked, but Louis had not forgiven the bishops who had openly rejected his commands, though his attention was diverted to a conflict with the Pope, with whom relations had, indeed, already been strained in the 1660s by several episodes which seemed to reflect widely held Gallican opinions.

Gallicanism in seventeenth-century France was in no sense a movement: the term itself was first used in the nineteenth century although, of course, 'l'Eglise gallicane' was already a time-honoured expression.¹¹ Its use implied no particular view of the relationship of the French Church to Rome and it would be tempting to translate to this context the argument of Z. N. Brooke and to misappropriate the definition of Hubert Walter: 'hanc occidentalis ecclesiae portionem quam in Gallia plantavit Altissimus'.¹² 'The French Church' is much less misleading than 'the Gallican Church' as a translation of 'l'Eglise gallicane'. Gallicanism is no more than a useful term to describe the opinions of those Frenchmen who did not welcome the advance of the Ultramontane claims. It has become usual to distinguish three elements in the family of Gallican opinions—episcopal, parliamentary and royal¹³—but it might prove more helpful to use different categories and to identify only two. Of these the first would be the Gallicanism of the Parlement, which emphasized the dependence of the Church upon the protection of the King's courts and the King's officers, and had developed the procedure of the *appel comme d'abus* as a restraint upon all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, episcopal as well as pontifical.¹⁴ The second would be the Gallicanism of the Sorbonne. Admittedly, on most questions of substance there was little difference between the opinion of the Parlement and that of the Sorbonne. In both corporations there was general assent to the doctrines of the divine right of bishops, of the inferiority of the Pope to a General Council and of the inviolability of the liberties of the French Church. The Gallicanism of the Sorbonne was embraced by many of the French bishops, most of whom had read their theology there, and it was by the faculty rather than by the episcopal bench that the theory of ecclesiastical (as distinct from

¹⁰ A. Cauchie, 'La Paix de Clément IX', *Rev. d'hist. et de littérature religieuse*, iii (1898), 481–501.

¹¹ A.-G. Martimort, *Le Gallicanisme de Bossuet* (1953), p. 13, n. 2.

¹² Z. N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (1931), pp. 9, 13.

¹³ See, for example, D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, 4th ed. (1943), p. 296.

¹⁴ Martimort, p. 94, and n. 5. See also R. Génestal, *Les Origines de l'appel comme d'abus* (1951).

secular) Gallicanism was developed. The Sorbonne was never unanimous, and in the seventeenth century differences of opinion became sharper, yet Gallicanism continued to be the characteristic feature of *les maximes de Paris*. The Sorbonne could readily agree with the Parlement in resistance to papal claims, though it placed the emphasis upon the right of the bishops to regulate the affairs of the French Church.

Behind the Gallicanism of the Parlement and that of the Sorbonne towered the policy of the King. It would be misleading to speak of a 'royal Gallicanism' as a separate doctrine in its own right, since the King's policy was opportunist and had no distinct theoretical basis. For the Crown the authority of the bishops or of the Parlement were useful weapons to use against the Pope or in a general defence of its rights, when and if such pressure seemed desirable.

There was, therefore, in Louis XIV's France no one answer to the questions raised by the relations of Church and State. Rome, pursuing a policy of centralization, invariably resented any interference with its will in the government of the Church. The King, jealous of his prerogatives and his honour but immovable in his orthodoxy, could accept neither subordination to the Pope nor separation from the Western Church. The secular clergy and the Sorbonne exalted the authority of diocesan bishops and were indifferently suspicious of the pretensions of Rome and of the King's courts. The Parlement, while sharing the hostility of many of the clergy to an intrusive Roman authority, was prepared to challenge the bishops in the King's name if they presumed to take too much upon themselves. The events of 1663–5 illustrate the degree of agreement and dissent within Gallicanism.

Relations between Louis and Rome had already deteriorated seriously. In 1662 there had been an open fight in Rome between the Corsican Guard and the servants of the French ambassador. The diplomatic quarrel which followed encouraged Parlement to intervene in the following year against theses maintained in the Sorbonne defending Bellarmine's interpretation of papal authority.¹⁵ Even Bossuet resented this interference, not because he had any sympathy with the theses but because he recognized it as an infringement of clerical and academic independence. The dispute was sharp, although it was not the doctrinal opinion of Parlement that was opposed but its claim that a secular court of law could be a proper judge of doctrine.¹⁶ In the same year the Sorbonne itself produced Six Articles of a strongly Gallican flavour. On this ground Parlement and the Sorbonne were at peace and the theologians could continue their debates. The faculty prolonged its campaign against papal authority, formally censuring Vernant in 1664 and erecting against his opinions an elaborate state-

¹⁵ L. André, *Louis XIV et l'Europe* (1950), pp. 59–61; C. Gérin, *Recherches historiques sur l'Assemblée de 1682*, 2nd ed. (1870), pp. 1–35, 518–24; L. André, *Michel le Tellier et Louvois* (1942), pp. 115–32.

¹⁶ Martimort, pp. 216–36. For the importance of the Articles of 1663, see below.

ment of the classical Gallican position.¹⁷ The occasion was improved in the following year by a condemnation of the attempts of Guimenius to justify the moral theology of the Jesuits.¹⁸ Such presumption exhausted the patience of Pope Alexander VII, who roundly condemned the censures in the Bull *Cum ad Aures* in 1665.¹⁹ This was the signal for a parade of the united forces of Gallicanism against Italian interference in the affairs of the Church. Parlement, the Sorbonne and the Assembly of the Clergy all protested under the patronage of the King and his ministers: the mutual resentments of 1663 had been forgotten.²⁰ When the campaign faded away it was not because of any change of heart among the clergy or the lawyers but because Louis wished to avoid a quarrel with the Pope while he was at war with England.²¹ Relations with Rome were uneasy during the 1660s, and although the alliance of King and Pope survived until after the Peace of the Church of 1668, it was already clear that Louis would not be without support in a struggle with the Pope. Parlement and the Sorbonne, which had quarrelled in 1663 over the frontiers of their jurisdictions, had united with the General Assembly of 1665 in a protest against the Pope. That protest proved abortive only because the King, for political reasons, chose not to force an issue. This appeasement of convenience did not long survive the Clementine Peace of 1668.

Three years after this Peace the relationship of Church and State was profoundly affected by the election, as archbishop of Paris, of Harlay de Champvallon. Harlay both deserves and needs a biographer but has not found one since the late seventeenth century.²² He was in many ways a remarkable man, and astonishing as an archbishop under a pious King in a Church purified by the Catholic renaissance of the seventeenth century. He was worldly, scholarly and astute. During the Fénelon controversy the wits observed that the archbishop had condemned the love of God without having heard of it. This does fair justice to his piety but none to his considerable learning, and more memorable is Saint-Simon's picture of the prelate walking in the grounds of his house with a favourite duchess, followed at a respectful distance by a gardener raking over the gravel disturbed by their feet. Harlay, who was born in 1625, early acquired a reputation for brilliance. At the Assembly of the Clergy in 1650 he proved his ability in the handling of business. At the age of twenty-six he succeeded his uncle as

¹⁷ Jacques de Vernant (= Bonaventure Hérédie) had published in 1658 *La défense de l'autorité de Notre Saint Père le Pape*.

¹⁸ A. Guimenius, *Opusculum singulare universae fere theologiae moralis complectens* (Lyons, 1664). This was the work of a Jesuit, Mateo Moya, and had already appeared in Spain. Martimort, p. 246; J. Boileau, *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant les censures de la faculté de théologie de Paris* (1666), pp. 21–59.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 92–6; C. Gérin, *Louis XIV et le Saint Siège* (2 vols., 1894), ii. 13–17.

²⁰ A. Duranthon, *Collection des procès-verbaux des Assemblées Générales du Clergé de France depuis 1560 jusqu'à présent* (1767–78), iv. 931–2; P. Bleu, *Le Clergé de France et la Monarchie. Étude sur les Assemblées Générales du Clergé de 1615 à 1666* (2 vols., 1959), ii. 319–25.

²¹ Louis XIV, *Mémoires pour l'instruction du Dauphin* (2 vols., 1860), i. 202. Cited in Martimort, p. 269.

²² Louis le Gendre, *Eloge de Messire François de Harlay archevêque de Paris* (1695).

archbishop of Rouen, administering the province in an exemplary manner and winning the good opinion of the Court.²³ He showed throughout his life the greatest zeal in keeping that good opinion by defending the rights of the King in the government of the French Church. His own power in that government was apparently unlimited. Contemporaries were convinced, with good reason, that he and the King's confessor enjoyed a monopoly of power.

Personne n'en pouvait parler au Roi et l'informer de ce qu'il y a à redire dans la conduite de l'Archevêque que le Confesseur: et c'est pour cela que Mgr. l'Archevêque le ménage et agit de concert avec lui. Ce Jésuite pourvu qu'il arrive à ses fins consent que l'Archevêque règne, et qu'il suive le chemin de Patriarche dans l'Eglise de France; et l'Archevêque à son tour pourvu que son trône subsiste et qu'on le laisse dominer sur ses confrères sacrifie volontiers aux Jésuites la doctrine de l'Eglise . . .²⁴

This was a partisan statement by a friend of those Oratorians who had suffered most from Harlay's policies, yet it seems to contain few exaggerations on matters of fact.²⁵ From 1675 Harlay and the confessor, la Chaise, were the only members of the *conseil de conscience* and very little effective opposition to their agreed programme was possible.²⁶

That programme included an extension of the power of the King: few historians have failed to observe the irony in the spectacle of a Jesuit abandoning the Ultramontane tradition to strengthen his influence over the French King and Church. Neither Harlay nor la Chaise could therefore be expected to show any resistance to the extension of the *Régale*. This was the right enjoyed by the Crown in most provinces to appropriate the revenues of a vacant see and with them all episcopal rights of nominating to benefices not having a cure of souls. The extension of this right to all the provinces of France naturally appealed to the King's advisers and was therefore claimed in the edicts of 1673 and 1675. Pavillon of Aleth and Caulet of Pamiers, both of whom had already achieved notoriety at Court by their refusal to sign the Formulary, once again showed their independence by a denial of the legality of the King's actions and an appeal to Innocent XI. Louis was already dissatisfied with the policy of this high-minded Pope and bitterly resented his defence of the appellant bishops. Both Pavillon and Caulet were dead by 1680 but the struggle survived them to become the *casus belli* in the Assembly of 1681–2.²⁷ Innocent reasonably insisted that he was defending not his own rights but those of the native bishops against

²³ *Biographie Universelle (Michaud)* (1817), xix. 430–1.

²⁴ Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 2456, pp. 39–49. See also P. Bayle, *Recueil de quelques pièces curieuses concernant la philosophie de M. Descartes* (1684), pp. 17–23. It is clear from the manuscript that this note was written in 1679. See also *Mémoires du Curé de Versailles François Hébert* (1927), pp. 20, 136, and compare G. Guittot, 'Le Père de la Chaise et la "feuille des bénéfices"', *Rev. d'Hist. de l'Eglise de France*, xli (1950), 28–47.

²⁵ The history of the Oratory in these years, of which I hope shortly to publish a study, provides many examples of both the policies and the powers of Harlay.

²⁶ J. Orcibal, *Louis XIV contre Innocent XI* (1949), p. 54.

²⁷ N. Abercrombie, *The Origins of Jansenism* (1936), pp. 205–7.

the demands of a predatory State, hoping by this argument to drive a wedge between the Gallicanism of the clergy and that of the Parlement.

This defence was, of course, rejected by Harlay, who inspired the letter of February 1682 from the Assembly to the Pope. The argument of the letter is that the Pope is wrong to resist the King on a relatively small matter of discipline: after all, the effect of the edicts is only to make universal what is already general. It is foolish to resist the lawful demands of so Christian a King:

Est il besoin de dire jusqu'à quel point le Roi a en horreur toutes les nouveautés, et qu'elles ne peuvent trouver asile en aucun endroit de son Royaume?²⁸

Harlay will admit that the magistrates may be wrong in their opinions but not that those opinions are heretical or that the edicts based upon them should be disobeyed. This admission was a slight concession to those moderates, like Bossuet, who had been made uneasy by a unilateral abrogation of episcopal rights.²⁹

The disgrace of Pomponne in 1679 led to the acceptance of Colbert's demands that policy towards Rome should be hardened.³⁰ Diplomatic pressure on the Vatican was increased by César d'Estrées, the special representative of the King, and the clergy were marshalled for the Extraordinary Assembly of 1681. The dominant figure in this Assembly was not Bossuet, but the now less celebrated Harlay. Behind him was Colbert and, keeping as quiet as possible, la Chaise.³¹ There was no hint of extremism in the sermon on the unity of the Church which Bossuet preached at the opening of the Assembly on 9 November 1681. The King's rights are described as inviolable and the personal infallibility of the Pope is denied; but no sympathy is shown for the encroachments of the *officiers*, and the absolute necessity of unity with Rome is emphasized.³² Bossuet's intention was to reinforce the moderation of le Tellier and of his son, Charles Maurice, the archbishop of Reims: it is not surprising that Harlay was displeased by the sermon.³³

Any hope of successful conciliation was seriously weakened during the winter months. From November 1681 to February 1682 the Assembly was preoccupied with the intractable problem of the *Régale*. A third edict confirming the universality of the King's rights *sede vacante* was prepared with the advice of the Assembly (manipulated by Harlay) and the publication of this edict was the occasion of the letter of

²⁸ L. Mention, *Documents relatifs aux rapports du Clergé avec la Royauté de 1682 à 1789* (1893), i. 12.

²⁹ Innocent XI had failed to capture, by the promise of a cardinal's hat, the support of Bossuet himself. Martimort, pp. 341–57.

³⁰ C. Gérin, 'La disgrâce de M. de Pomponne', *Rev. des questions historiques*, xxiii (1878), 1–70.

³¹ Gérin, *Recherches Historiques* (1870), pp. 139–40, 172–4; Martimort, pp. 380–2; J. B. Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires* (1862–82), vi. 148–57.

³² *Oeuvres Oratoires*, ed. Lebarq, Urbain and Levesque (1911–26), vi. 98–151.

³³ J. T. Loyson, *L'assemblée du Clergé de France de 1682* (1870), pp. 125–6; Martimort, p. 428; F. Lediou, *Mémoires et Journal sur la vie et les ouvrages de Bossuet* (1856), i. 174–5; Gazier, p. 103.

February 1682.³⁴ The edict confirmed the orders of 1673 and 1675 and included

... une déclaration précise de notre volonté sur la manière dont nous entendons exercer le droit et la possession en laquelle nous sommes de succéder aux archevêques et évêques, pour la collation des bénéfices, autres que les cures pendant la vacance des sièges.³⁵

Bossuet was anxious that the quarrel should be no further embittered, but the opposing policy of Harlay and Colbert prevailed in the Assembly. A commission was appointed to examine the controversial Six Articles which the Sorbonne had approved in 1663, and to produce a declaration *de ecclesiastica potestate*.³⁶ This declaration, drafted as the Four Articles, was accepted by the Assembly on 19 March 1682. The first three articles of 1663 were compressed into the first of 1682; important changes were introduced, of which the general effect was to make the statements of doctrine more positive and to widen their application.

The core of the first Article is a declaration that kings and princes are subject to no ecclesiastical power in temporal matters.³⁷ *Reges et principes* had significantly replaced the *Rex Christianissimus* of 1663, and an attempt is made to limit the force of papal counter-measures by denying Rome the rights of deposition or of dispensation from obedience. The second Article is remarkably imprecise: an admission of the Pope's *plena potestas* is inconsistently linked with approval of the Council of Constance. Moreover, the French Church 'does not approve' the opinion of those who wish to limit the force of the decrees of this Council. It follows that the Assembly neither approves nor condemns this opinion and the second Article survives these contrived ambiguities as no more than the general expression of a Gallican sentiment. The same doubt surrounds the third Article, the uncertainties of which would forbid a rigorous interpretation of the rules, usages and customs of the French kingdom and Church, which are to remain inviolate.³⁸ A general principle is drawn from this particular statement but the rules, customs and institutions remain undefined.

These first three Articles dignify with official approval a widely held but loosely articulated and carelessly defined body of Gallican opinions. They pale into insignificance beside the terse clarity of the fourth, which declares that although the Pope has the principal part in questions of faith, his judgement is irreformable only if the Church accepts

³⁴ See above, p. 223, lines 3 ff.

³⁵ Mention, i. 3.

³⁶ *Lettres du Cardinal le Camus évêque et prince de Grenoble*, ed. A. M. P. Ingold (1892), p. 415; Martimort, pp. 460-1. The Commission was presided over by Gilbert de Choiseul, the bishop of Tournai.

³⁷ 'Reges ergo et principes in temporalibus nulli ecclesiasticae potestati Dei ordinatione subjici.' Text in Mention, i. 26-32. The Assembly did not supply an official translation. A French translation may be found in L. E. Dupin, *Histoire Ecclésiastique du XVII^e Siècle* (1714), pp. 533-6. See Martimort, p. 462, n. 1.

³⁸ '... valere etiam regulas, mores et instituta a regno et ecclesia Gallicana recepta, Patrumque terminos manere inconcussos'.

it.³⁹ In 1663 the Sorbonne had simply ruled that it did not regard the doctrine of papal infallibility as being *de fide*. The Article of 1682 rules positively that the Pope's judgement is not irreformable.⁴⁰ In 1663 the Sorbonne was expressing a weighty opinion on a disputed point; in 1682 the Assembly of the Clergy claims to determine the dispute. The *Declaratio* of 1682 was a statement by the bishops and therefore enjoyed an importance and an authority which could be assumed by no private statement, even one made by so venerable a corporation as the Sorbonne. Equally significant was the undoubted enthusiasm of the King for the enforcement of acceptance of the Articles throughout his dominions. The differences between the statements of 1663 and 1682 reveal the deterioration in these years of relations between the King and the French Church on the one hand and the Pope on the other.

1682 was the most critical year of the century in the history of the relations of Church and State in France. All the bishops who had taken any part in the Assembly were now publicly committed to the policy of Harlay de Champvallon, who was left in complete control of the proceedings. The King signed an edict demanding that the Articles must everywhere be registered and taught and that every candidate for a degree in theology must subscribe to them. The Pope acted with equal speed and thoroughness, sending to the Assembly on 2 April a brief annulling all its decisions and lamenting the threat to the integrity of the faith.⁴¹ The clergy replied in May with a brusque affirmation of independence ('L'Eglise Gallicane se gouverne par ses propres loix') and a protest at the Pope's attack on Church and State:

... on viole ouvertement les droits les plus anciens de l'Eglise Gallicane, et les coutumes les mieux établies de l'Etat.⁴²

The policy of Rome, they declared, would overthrow at once monarchy and episcopacy: no bishop, no King.⁴³

The battle could no longer be limited to words and in September 1682 the Pope decided to refuse Bulls of institution to all who had taken part in the Assembly; the King therefore determined to recommend to the Pope for preferment none who had been absent from the Assembly. The deadlock was complete and the moderates dismayed: Bossuet sought, in his *Defensio Declarationis Cleri Gallicani* (written in the years 1683–5 but not then published) to rescue Gallican and Catholic principles from the confusion of battle and to reconcile them in a positive ecclesiology which would embrace both pontifical and episcopal power. But neither Louis nor Innocent could afford to see this deadlock indefinitely prolonged: it weakened the moral position of the Crown,

³⁹ 'In fidei quoque quaestionibus praecipuas summi pontificis esse partes, eiusque decreta ad omnes et singulas ecclesias pertinere, nec tamen irreformabile esse iudicium nisi Ecclesiae consensus accesserit.'

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the preference by Bossuet of *irreformabile* to *infallibile*, see Martimort, p. 472.

⁴¹ Mention, i. 33–43.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

robbed it of the invaluable source of patronage guaranteed by the Concordat of 1516 and left dioceses without bishops in the years when the campaign against the Huguenots was being intensified. Louis certainly hoped that this campaign, and more especially the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, would give as much pleasure to Innocent as to Bossuet.⁴⁴ The Pope remained unimpressed by Louis' efforts to prove his orthodoxy at the expense of the Protestants, and supported Camus at Grenoble in his denunciations of conversion by violence.⁴⁵ The Parlement felt justified in complaining bitterly in 1688 of the Pope's ingratitude.⁴⁶ It professed yet greater indignation at the insult to the sovereignty of the King of France implied by Innocent's abolition, in May 1687, of the ambassadorial franchises in Rome.⁴⁷ Innocent had already warned Louis of his probable excommunication. The Procureur-Général made a shrill appeal:

Protestant de relever son dit appel sur ce grief, et sur les autres qu'il se réserve d'expliquer au premier Concile qui se tiendra, comme au tribunal véritablement souverain et infaillible de l'Eglise, auquel son Chef visible est soumis ainsi que ses autres membres. . . .⁴⁸

Denis Talon, the Avocat-Général, warned the Pope that if he continued to act on new and erroneous opinions and to use his spiritual authority against Lavardin, the King's ambassador acting under royal orders, it might become necessary to revise the Concordat.⁴⁹ Louis was busily soliciting in support of an appeal to a General Council the opinions of Parlement, the universities and the clergy. Colbert de Croissy mounted a great press campaign against Rome, denouncing Innocent as a Jansenist, a Quietist and an ally of the heretic, William of Orange.⁵⁰ But when the Pope died in 1689 the worst of the polemical storm was over. The danger of schism had perhaps never been very real and the violent sentiments of 1688 were soon forgotten.⁵¹ The exaggerations of propaganda nevertheless left their mark and suggested immoderate precedents to eighteenth-century imitators.

Louis and his advisers calculated in 1688 that the certain hazards of pressing any further their policy against Rome were greater than the probable advantages. International complications were becoming more serious each month and the King was anxious to reduce tension wherever he could. His advisers were disturbed by a growing undercurrent of criticism in France and knew that the perpetuation of an open quarrel

⁴⁴ See, for example, Bossuet's funeral oration on Michel le Tellier. *Oraisons Funèbres*, ed. Rébelliau (1931), p. 453.

⁴⁵ J. Orcibal, *Louis XIV et les Protestants* (1951), pp. 84, 138-9.

⁴⁶ Mention, i. 84-5.

⁴⁷ E. Préclin and E. Jarry, *Les luttes politiques et doctrinales aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, i (1955), p. 161.

⁴⁸ Mention, i. 82. This was a more positive statement of Article III (1682).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 100; J. Orcibal, *Louis XIV contre Innocent XI* (1949), pp. 16-17.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵¹ Lavardin had been recalled in April 1689, and his successor had orders not to press any franchise claims.

with Rome must nourish this disaffection. Both Louis and Innocent XII, who succeeded Alexander VIII in 1691, hoped to secure the neutrality of Italy in the enlarging international conflict. It was no change of heart but a calculation of political advantages that brought Louis, in the autumn of 1693, to a decision to suspend the disputes with Rome. His position had by then been shaken by the disastrous harvest of 1693 and the concessions he made were considerable.⁵²

Louis XIV was saved from the indignity of a direct renunciation of his opinions by confining his public statements to a bare assurance that the royal edict of 22 March 1682 would no longer be enforced in France.⁵³

. . . j'ai donné les ordres nécessaires afin que les choses contenues dans mon édit du 22 mars 1682 touchant la déclaration faite par le Clergé de France à quoi les conjonctures passées m'avaient obligé ne soient pas observées . . .⁵⁴

Could any retraction be more impenitent? The edict of 1682 is clearly described as inevitable, and all Louis now concedes is that it should no longer be observed. It is not surprising that the bishops had to go a little farther than this. Each bishop signing the letter to the Pope laments anything done in the Assembly of 1682 which displeased the Pope and adds that nothing which might be construed as a decree relating to ecclesiastical power and pontifical authority should, in fact, be treated as a decree.⁵⁵

Even this declaration is neither whole-hearted nor precise: *quidquid* could mean much or little, and all the bishops effectively say is that they had not produced *decrees* on ecclesiastical or papal authority. It follows that neither by the King nor by the bishops was there an explicit renunciation of the positions of 1682. Even the question of the *Régale* was left unresolved.

Bossuet was, perhaps too readily, convinced that nothing had been conceded to Rome and that the principles of 1682 stood quite unshaken by ten years of controversy and its conclusion.⁵⁶ His own view of the relations of Church and State remained both firm and moderate. In all his thought and writing the predominant notes were sanity, tradition, order, clarity. He hated the extremes of Ultramontanism and Protestantism; he rejected the conclusions of Casuists as well as Jansenists; he suspected the rationalism of the new philosophy as much as the dangerously formless and novel mysticism which he detected in the Church. After the provisional settlement of the Gallican conflict Bossuet became increasingly concerned with the dangerous excesses of

⁵² J. Meuvret, 'Les aspects politiques de la liquidation du conflit gallican', *Rev. d'Hist. de l'Eglise de France*, xxxiii (1947), 257-70.

⁵³ The text of his letter to Innocent XII (14 Sept. 1693) is in Mention, i. 64-5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁵⁵ ' . . . quidquid in iisdem comitiis circa ecclesiasticam potestatem et pontificum auctoritatem decretum censeri potuit, pro non decreto habeo et habendum esse declaro'. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁶ Bossuet was convinced that the bishops' letter contained nothing of importance. Lediou, i. 11-12.

mystical theology; his determination to remove these excesses brought a new factor into the relations of Church and State. The seventeenth century was an age of renaissance in the spiritual life of French Catholics. The line between orthodoxy and heresy in the expression of a mystical experience is notoriously hard to draw, and the danger that spiritual abandon may insensibly decline into antinomianism was very real to a mind like Bossuet's. It was a tragedy that he should have detected this very danger in one of the greatest of his contemporaries, Fénelon.⁵⁷ At the same time, Madame de Maintenon recognized Fénelon as a serious political rival and found in Bossuet a ready ally: it has even been argued that the quarrel which Bossuet forced upon Fénelon did not grow from a difference of religious opinion at all, but this view seems exaggerated.⁵⁸ Bossuet, the indefatigable and erudite champion of order, was convinced that the perverse theses of Molinos were corrupting, through the sinister influence of Madame Guyon, the brilliant and refreshing mind of Fénelon.⁵⁹ Molinos had taught that a soul completely abandoned in prayer to God should grow into a state of complete indifference to its own salvation or damnation, and of complete detachment from the ministrations of the Church, from the sacraments, from dogmatic systems and from moral precepts. In the pure love of God there could be room for no consideration save that of God Himself. These, at least, were the terms in which the problem presented itself to Bossuet and he, with the King and Madame de Maintenon, resolved to extinguish these errors.

This resolution modified the relations of Church and State in France: the King was now prepared to accept the Pope as an ally against the Quietists—as he had been an ally against the Jansenists in the 1660s—in spite of the fact that the whole purpose of royal policy in the meantime had been to abbreviate papal power. No one, unless immediate purposes were served, was less devoted to *le gallicanisme du roi* than the King himself.

It had been generally hoped that the conclusions of the eirenic commission at Issy would detach Fénelon from the doctrines of Malaval, Molinos and Madame Guyon. Unfortunately the desire to accommodate Fénelon had produced loose wording in the drafting of the articles,

⁵⁷ For English readers the best introduction to Quietism and Fénelon is R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm* (1950), pp. 231–356. M. de la Bédoyère's book, *The Archbishop and the Lady* (1956), is more illuminating than its title. The Bossuet–Fénelon controversy has long been a *cause célèbre* of French history and literature. One of the most valuable contributions to the debate remains H. Bremond, *Apologie pour Fénelon* (1910).

⁵⁸ This is the thesis of R. Schmittlein, *L'Aspect Politique du Différend Bossuet–Fénelon* (1954). Much of the force of the argument is destroyed by polemical exaggeration: Bossuet was a time-server (pp. 9, 26), an agent of Madame de Maintenon (p. 32), a violent sadist (p. 67), a dancing dervish (p. 73), a liar (p. 255), a man without scruples (p. 272), 'menteur, calomniateur, diffamateur, falsificateur' (p. 488), an actor (p. 489). The passions aroused by the great quarrel are by no means extinguished. More serious is the argument that Madame de Maintenon first determined to break all her links with Madame Guyon and Fénelon because she feared that her enemy, Harley de Champvallon, would use her friendship with 'Quietists' as a weapon to destroy her influence over the King (pp. 26, 27, 85, 389, 486).

⁵⁹ For Molinos, see P. Dudon, *Le Quiétiste espagnol Michel Molinos* (1921).

of which he took advantage two years later by publishing *Les Maximes des Saints* (1697). This ill-advised attempt to define what the archbishop of Cambrai took to be the authentic tradition of Christian mysticism was interpreted by Bossuet as an act of bad faith and a revival of doctrines already condemned by Rome.⁶⁰ A bitter quarrel raged for two years, throwing into relief the irreconcilable minds and tempers of Fénelon and Bossuet; it was arrested only by the decision of the Pope.⁶¹ Fénelon had so few doubts of the validity of his own position that he appealed to Rome: like St. Paul, he found little reason to be content with the result. In his letter to Innocent XII, dated April 1697, he submitted the *Maximes* to papal judgement, renouncing as abominable the Quietest teachings of Molinos. Fénelon thought that, while the conclusions of Issy were in themselves sound and acceptable, they had since been misconstrued as an attack upon 'l'amour pur de la vie contemplative'. Bossuet rejected this defence and Fénelon was commanded to leave the Court; Louis was anxious that the Pope should reach a decision as soon as possible and urged the necessity of

... un jugement net et précis sur un livre qui met son royaume en combustion et sur une doctrine qui le divise.

The Bull of 1699 condemned not only the general tone of the *Maximes* but also twenty-three propositions drawn from the work.⁶² Louis expressed his pleasure at so correct a decision but demonstrated his loyalty to one of the great principles of 1682 by accepting Bossuet's argument that the force of the Bull in France should depend upon its formal reception.⁶³ A copy of the Bull was sent to all the archbishops

... que joignant ainsi leurs suffrages à l'autorité du jugement de Notre Saint Père le Pape, le concours de ces puissances pût étouffer entièrement des nouveautés qui blessaient la pureté de la Foi. . . .

The King made it equally clear that he enjoyed in his own right the power to preserve this purity.⁶⁴ Bossuet and Louis had been glad to accept the decision of Rome against Fénelon but they had no intention of paying for this help with the liberties of bishops or of the Crown.

This working alliance of King and Pope was the most conspicuous result of the pacification of 1693. From that settlement the Jansenists were excluded and now found themselves, as in the 1650s and 1660s, exposed to the united enmity of Pope and King. The King had already in 1679 broken the spirit if not the letter of the Clementine Peace by

⁶⁰ *Correspondance de Bossuet*, ed. C. Urbain and E. Levesque (1909-23), viii. 126.

⁶¹ The comparison of Bossuet and Fénelon is a fruitful exercise. Bossuet—'un grand simplificateur', in Bremond's telling phrase (p. 263)—is often compared with Manning and the more sensitive Fénelon with Newman. It is a little fanciful to claim Fénelon as 'a Romantic', but see the interesting comparison of the two ecclesiastics in the eulogy of Fénelon by the famous eighteenth-century critic, La Harpe. *Oeuvres de Fénelon* (ed. 1810), x. 401-2.

⁶² For the text of these documents see Mention, i. 133-50.

⁶³ Martimort, p. 683.

⁶⁴ Mention, i. 153-5.

reviving the persecution of Port-Royal: the Jansenist confessors were withdrawn and the doors closed to novices or postulants. The toleration of Jansenist opinions outside the convent depended upon the continued acceptance of the distinction of *droit* and *fait* and upon official acquiescence in 'respectful silence' as an adequate response to the question of papal infallibility in matters of fact. This acquiescence the enemies of Jansenism were determined to dissolve. They found a powerful ally, anxious to redeem his disgrace, in Fénelon.⁶⁵ He could not be blamed if he saw in the ruin of Jansenism, of which he was genuinely suspicious, an opportunity to damage those wrong-headed enemies who had effected his own condemnation. Quietist and Jesuit now worked together to enlist the King, by an appeal to his unconcealed hatred of Jansenism, against Noailles (Harlay's successor as archbishop), the Gallicans and the Jansenists themselves: it is a manœuvre of this kind which makes it impossible to represent in simple or constant terms the relations of Church and State under Louis XIV.

The tactics for the first phase of this renewed attack on the Jansenists were simplified by the fact that Noailles, while he was still bishop of Châlons, had approved the second edition of the *Réflexions Morales sur le Nouveau Testament* by the Jansenist, Quesnel; yet in the following year, as archbishop-elect, he had condemned a book written by another Jansenist, Barcos. This evident inconsistency was skilfully exploited by the anonymous author of the *Problème Ecclésiastique* in 1698: since the doctrine of the two works is substantially the same, he asked, which Noailles is to be believed?⁶⁶ Jansenism was brought back into the centre of theological discussion. Old but unsolved questions were resurrected and the Sorbonne found, in the *cas de conscience* of 1701, that a priest could give absolution to a penitent admitting some scruple over the *droit* and *fait* as well as some sympathy with other Jansenist principles.⁶⁷ This decision was promptly attacked and the publication of the Bull *Vineam Domini* in 1705 overthrew it: the Peace of 1668 was finally destroyed. Louis XIV, who had never had any patience with Jansenists, had been pressing for a Bull, always provided

. . . qu'elle se fasse de concert avec moi et qu'il n'y ait aucun terme qui puisse en empêcher la publication dans mon royaume.⁶⁸

The Bull was, in fact, prepared in consultation between Versailles and Rome and every precaution was taken in France to avoid a dangerous precedent destructive of the liberties of the French Church. Clement XI was understandably irritated by the endless repetition of

⁶⁵ Abercrombie, p. 304. It is impossible to resolve the debate on Fénelon's motives or to decide how powerful was his desire for revenge. He certainly became the most determined enemy of Noailles and of the Jansenists.

⁶⁶ P. Quesnel (?), *Solution de divers problèmes* (1699).

⁶⁷ Abercrombie, pp. 326–36.

⁶⁸ J. Carreyre, 'Quesnel', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, xiii (1937), col. 1501.

this theme. Louis reminded the clergy, in his letter to the Assembly, that they should take care to observe

... les formes établies par les saints Décrets et par l'usage de l'Eglise Gallicane.⁶⁹

He was equally explicit in instructing the Parlement that they were to register *Vineam Domini* only

... s'il leur appert que dans la dite Constitution en forme de Bulle, il n'y ait rien de contraire aux saints Décrets, constitutions canoniques, aux droits et prééminences de notre Couronne et aux libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane.⁷⁰

Neither Parlement nor the clergy neglected these instructions; the Assembly observed, in the letter to the bishops, that the clergy of the French Church did not execute the Pope's orders but judged and pronounced in partnership with him. The Bull against the Jansenists was received with the same caution as that against the Quietists; but the force of Gallicanism was weakened by the reception within a few years of two important Bulls carrying papal definitions of doctrine. Louis was not to find it easy to balance his zeal for the purity of the faith with care for his own rights and those of his courts and bishops.

The difficulty of reconciling these diverse interests increased in the last years of the reign and appears especially in the negotiations leading to the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Jesuits were determined that the doctrines which Noailles had unwisely approved in Quesnel's *Réflexions Morales*, and which restated at great length the objectionable substance of the Five Propositions, should be condemned with all possible solemnity. Louis, sharing this determination, asked the Pope for a Bull and expected to be consulted about its contents. Clement, on the other hand, wished his brief of 1708 to be taken as final, although it had condemned the doctrine of Quesnel only in general terms and had never been received in France. The King maintained diplomatic pressure and, after many delays, the Pope yielded and published the Bull *Unigenitus* in the autumn of 1713: although the French minister in Rome had been consulted, an advance copy had not been sent to Versailles. Louis' enthusiasm for a definitive condemnation of Quesnel had led him to ignore the Gallican principles he had often professed. His insistence on getting the Bull was to occasion a long struggle in which many of the Crown's natural allies in the Parlement and among the clergy learnt to resist the King's will. The fifty years of the personal reign of Louis XIV had seen most possible, and many improbable, groupings in ecclesiastical politics: King, Pope and Jesuits against the Jansenists; King, Jesuits and Gallicans against Pope and Jansenists; King, Gallicans and Jansenists against Quietists; King, Quietists, Jesuits and Pope against Jansenists. To this restlessly shifting pattern was now added one last refinement: King and Pope against Jansenists

⁶⁹ Mention, i. 175.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

and Gallicans.⁷¹ The collision over *Unigenitus* was to make a profound impression on the history of the eighteenth century.

Some attempt was made by Louis to soften the offence of *Unigenitus* to minds disposed to view with alarm the reception of a third important definition of doctrine by the Pope. The King, in the letters patent, emphasized that he had himself asked the Pope for a judgement against Quesnel's book. Parlement was again asked, before registering the Bull, to be satisfied that it infringed the rights neither of the Crown nor of the French Church.⁷² Parlement found no fault with the form of the Bull but did insist that acceptance of it by the French bishops must precede registration. The King called together all the bishops who happened to be in or near Paris or Versailles, but this somewhat makeshift assembly, instead of accepting the Bull promptly and gratefully from the hands of Clement and Louis, appointed a commission which proceeded to a leisurely examination of each of the one hundred and one condemned propositions. Rome was quite unwilling to admit any right in the assembled bishops to meddle in this way with a final decision. Noailles, angry at what he took to be a Jesuit plot to humiliate him, formally proposed that to the Bull should be prefaced the interpretation placed upon it by the bishops' commission. He failed to persuade the assembly to accept this provocative tactic, and therefore drew up, in collaboration with seven of his episcopal supporters, a declaration:

Nous demandons qu'on ne donne pas à la Cour de Rome une juste raison de croire que nous n'agissons que comme de simples exécuteurs de ses décrets.⁷³

The dissidents were exiled to their dioceses by *lettre de cachet* and the report of the commission included no more than a mild defence of the rights of bishops to judge with the Pope in matters of faith. The conduct of the Parlement was, in the King's eyes, no more satisfactory: the Bull was registered on 15 February 1714, but in profound silence. The Sorbonne in March accepted the Bull only after stormy sessions and forceful expressions of dissent.⁷⁴ The reign ended with Gallicans in Parlement and in the Sorbonne challenging the policy of a King who had failed, in this last episode of the reign, to reconcile independence of Rome with devotion to the Roman faith.

Louis' understanding of religion and philosophy was painfully limited and his policy in these matters dictated by a passionate hatred of dissidence or novelty.⁷⁵ He intended, as God's vicegerent, to extirpate heresy and error from his kingdom; the task proved far beyond his powers. His chances of success would have been greater if the partnership of Church and State, or rather of Pope and King, had been more

⁷¹ This summary is, of course, an over-simplification for the sake of clarity. It is not claimed, for example, that 'Quietist' is a satisfactory description of Fénelon and his sympathizers.

⁷² Mention, ii. 49.

⁷³ J. Carreyre, 'Unigenitus', *Dict. de Théologie Catholique*, xv (1950), col. 2067.

⁷⁴ A. Gazier, *Histoire Générale du Mouvement Janséniste* (2 vols., 1922), i. 241.

⁷⁵ Compare, for example, his policy towards Cartesianism. F. Bouillier, *Histoire de la Philosophie Cartésienne* (1854), pp. 452-72.

stable. That partnership was strained both by the opportunism of Louis' policy and by his ambition to claim for himself universal power. The resistance to the claims made under royal inspiration in the Assembly of 1682 has been interpreted as the first symptom of opposition to the absolutism of Louis le Grand.⁷⁶ The King's own reaction, in 1688, to papal hostility constituted a dangerous precedent which may be referred not only to the controversies of 1718, but also to the affair of the *billets de confession* and even the Civil Constitution of the Clergy: in the irony of history, Louis had himself forged

... les armes qui devaient frapper plus tard l'organisation ecclésiastique de la monarchie.⁷⁷

Even in the persecution of self-confessed heretics, Versailles and Rome were not united: the Revocation of 1685 marks the farthest advance of the militant Counter-Reformation and of royal absolutism, but the Pope soon lost his enthusiasm for the King's policy.

Louis had attempted to impose upon France a policy by which orthodox Catholicism was maintained with the support of a Pope who must nevertheless be kept firmly in his place. Papalists, Gallicans, Jansenists, Quietists, Cartesians and Protestants all learnt to fear a Priest-King who fought to arrest the birth of the eighteenth century. Some, like Harlay, supported the monarch for reasons of private interest; others, like Bossuet, because they shared his convictions but not his ignorance. It was Louis' misfortune to rule through years of rapid intellectual change:

La majorité des Français pensait comme Bossuet; tout d'un coup les Français pensent comme Voltaire: c'est une révolution.⁷⁸

Louis had so identified Church and State in France that the *philosophes* were to associate them under a like condemnation.

⁷⁶ Martimort, p. 498.

⁷⁷ J. Orcibal, *Louis XIV contre Innocent XI* (1949), p. 88.

⁷⁸ P. Hazard, *La Crise de la Conscience Européenne* (2 vols., 1935), i, p.i.

THE AGE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

ALFRED COBBAN

University College, London

THERE HAS RECENTLY been a tendency among modern historians to pay increased attention to the movements which transcend national boundaries. Thus the revolutionary wave which swept one country after another in the later years of the eighteenth century is now seen as in some respects the inroads of a single great tide. To write the history of such a movement is a difficult task. A mastery of the available literature in various languages, the basic research necessary to explore at least a few of the crucial gaps in our knowledge, a fundamental re-thinking of the political developments and an exploration of the social structure out of which they arise, are all necessary. The courage of Professor R. R. Palmer of Princeton University in launching on this colossal enterprise deserves all the more admiration. Where other historians have ventured only to suggest international influence and affiliations, he has attempted for the first time a connected history based on an integrated pattern.

The Age of the Democratic Revolution: a Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800: Volume i, *The Challenge*,¹ is even more than this. With greater frankness than many other historians, who also have their prejudices, exhibit, Professor Palmer in writing of the struggle as one between (using the terms broadly) the aristocratic and the democratic conceptions of the community,² asserts his own predilection for American democracy as against the inequalities of the European monarchical and aristocratic systems.³ He also divorces the eighteenth-century democratic from the modern Marxist revolution, writing, ‘It is permitted to believe that a better society, more humane, more open, more flexible, more susceptible to improvement, more favorable to physical welfare and to the pursuit of higher concerns, issued from the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century than from the communist revolution of the twentieth.’⁴ At the same time he insists that the eighteenth century did indeed witness a revolution. To the European reader his argument that ‘opposition to one revolution is no reason for rejecting all revolutions’⁵ may seem superfluous; but he reminds us that ‘there was something in the atmosphere of 1955 . . . which made it important, for some,

¹ Princeton University Press, 1959; Oxford University Press, 1960. ix + 534 pp. 45s.

² p. 22.

³ p. 4.

⁴ p. 11.

⁵ p. 10.

to dissociate the American Revolution from other revolutions'.⁶ Admittedly, in present-day historical writing 'there is no agreement on what the American Revolution was';⁷ and he tells us that 'those who discount the revolutionary character of the American Revolution seem to be gaining ground'.⁸ Against this, he presents an interpretation of the American War of Independence 'on the analogy of revolutions in Europe'.⁹ This is an interesting and profitable parallel, though Mr. Palmer possibly carries it a little too far. What happened in America, he suggests, was even more revolutionary than what happened subsequently in France, tested by two 'quantitative and objective measures': first, the percentage of those who fled from the colonies as loyalists, which was 2·4, whereas the percentage of *émigrés* was only 0·5, in relation to the whole population; secondly, the compensation paid to the *émigrés* in 1825, which was only twelve times as large as that paid earlier by the British government to the loyalists though revolutionary France was ten times as large as revolutionary America.¹⁰ It would be easy to play this game with other sets of figures, but we shall have no difficulty in agreeing that the American was a real revolution without going into perhaps not very convincing statistical comparisons.

On America Mr. Palmer seems to rely on the most recent historical work. On France he faithfully follows the interpretation of Lefebvre, and if this is to be quarrelled with it can be only on the basis of new research. On Great Britain his step seems unsure. At the very beginning he tells us, in a footnote, 'It will be evident to the alert reader that I do not share the revisionist admiration shown by L. B. Namier for the old House of Commons.'¹¹ No historian is obliged to share all the views of Sir Lewis; I do not myself. But it might have been preferable not to dismiss the work of the leading historian of the period in a single footnote, even if it represents a tendency with which Mr. Palmer does not sympathize and if its interpretation of British politics runs counter to his own. One historian cannot, of course, be equally familiar with the history of all countries, and the analysis of British developments here sometimes suggests a subject 'got up' for the occasion but not really understood.¹²

The importance of occasional confused statements should, however,

⁶ p. 188.

⁷ p. 186.

⁸ p. 187.

⁹ p. 186.

¹⁰ p. 188.

¹¹ p. 45n.

¹² I am thinking of statements such as the following: 'In England men of the same kind [“wealthy men, whose grandfathers had been bourgeois, and who still owned and managed their wealth in bourgeois manner”], while they could rarely become peers because the peerage was so small, belonged in many cases to the higher levels of aristocracy' (pp. 68-9). 'The social distance between landed and commercial classes had perhaps never been greater in England than in the days of Jane Austen and the eve of the First Reform Bill' (p. 72). 'On June 2 Lord George [Gordon] entered the House of Commons (of which he was a member, being the son of a duke)—this may be a joke (p. 299). We are told that in the Gordon Riots “whole Catholic neighbourhoods were burned” (*ibid.*). In 1771 a group of Cambridge undergraduates petitioned for relief from the “Thirty-Nine Articles” (p. 318). Undergraduates were not quite so important in the eighteenth century; this presumably refers to the famous Feathers Tavern petition. Apparently on the strength of a remark by Lady Holland, we are assured that ‘with Pitt in office the aristocracy was kept at a distance’ (p. 302). I wonder if Mr. Palmer has looked at a list of Pitt’s cabinets.

not be exaggerated. On Mr. Palmer's history of the political developments in Sweden, Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, the Austrian Netherlands, the Swiss Cantons and so on, it would need as many different historians to comment adequately. Since he is writing on a broad scale it is almost inevitable that there will be statements that a historian with more detailed knowledge would want to modify or delete. But this does not affect the validity of his thesis of a single great democratic revolution dominating this period, or diminish his belief in the value of that revolution. In both respects I would go a long way with him. I think there was such a revolution, and when the ideals of the revolutionaries are compared with the facts of the various social and political systems against which they were revolting, my sympathies are certainly with them.

On the other hand, while agreeing with Mr. Palmer's basic thesis and ends, I find it difficult to follow him all the way in his methods. He makes extensive use of parallels, which seem to me sometimes rather far-fetched. To fit Great Britain into the pattern, George III's political activities are likened to those of Louis XV, Maria Theresa and Gustavus III.¹³ With Pitt in office he finds that 'as in the days of the Stamp Act, there was a remote and ludicrous English analogy to the enlightened despotism of the Continent, which the Whiggish traditions of English history have perhaps concealed'.¹⁴ The British House of Commons is compared with the parlement of Grenoble because it had a large proportion of young members in its ranks.¹⁵ Pitt's reform bill of 1785 is likened to the Maupeou reforms in France.¹⁶ Burke is 'an eloquent writer, a man of feeling, and an expatriate, in many ways surprisingly like Jean-Jacques Rousseau'.¹⁷ When France, Zurich and Bern employ their treaty rights to intervene in Geneva, there is 'a premonition of the Holy Alliance and the Protocol of Troppau'.¹⁸ Admitting a difference in scale and intensity, this time I think on the side of France, Mr. Palmer finds the France of the Reign of Terror foreshadowed in detail by the America of 1776—a revolutionary government, committees of public safety, representatives on mission, paper money and forged paper money, price controls, oaths, delation, confiscations, Jacobins who wind up as sober guardians of the law—'how much it all suggests what was to happen in France a few years later!'¹⁹ It seems to me that to push the parallel into such detail is to weaken rather than strengthen the case.

When Mr. Palmer finds, on the contrary, a parallel which runs counter to his own ideas, he has no difficulty in detecting differences. Thus his most prominent theme is that of an aristocratic counter-revolution, accompanying, following or even preceding the democratic revolution. He sees it in France, Great Britain and Ireland, Geneva, the Dutch Republic, Russia, Sweden, Poland, Prussia.²⁰ Some American historians

¹³ p. 152.

¹⁷ p. 308.

¹⁴ p. 302.

¹⁸ p. 359.

¹⁵ p. 77.

¹⁹ p. 199.

¹⁶ p. 307.

²⁰ p. 286.

have also seen a kind of 'aristocratic resurgence' in the United States after independence, but Mr. Palmer patriotically protests, 'My own view is that, while a new upper class was undoubtedly growing up in the United States, it was clearly more dynamic, more oriented to the future, more receptive to change than the aristocracies of Europe.'²¹ Elsewhere he tends to subordinate the differences to the similarities. His approach is well represented by what he writes of the French Revolution: 'So much being said for the uniqueness of the French Revolution, the pattern used in foregoing chapters will be applied to it in the following pages.'²² Since, I suspect, the pattern was originally derived from a study of the French Revolution, it naturally fits very well in this case.

Another danger involved in his method is the temptation unconsciously to omit those facts that do not fit the pattern. Thus we are told that the aristocratic parties in the smaller countries 'showed a strong tendency to depend on foreign aid'.²³ This is true, but the fact that so also did their democratic opponents, though not ignored, emerges rather less emphatically. We are also told that 'the leaders of democratization showed an affinity for France'²⁴ as against Great Britain. Indeed they did in America and the Dutch Republic. But why omit to say that in Geneva it was the oligarchy who called in France and their opponents who looked to Britain? It is mentioned that among the Genevan democrats Clavière settled in France,²⁵ but at first, like most of the leaders of the Genevan movement, he fled to England and obtained financial aid from the British Government. It is true, as Mr. Palmer observes, that 'not everything can be told'.²⁶ Perhaps the Corsican struggle for independence, which also looked to Great Britain, is not relevant to his thesis. But in discussing enlightened despotism, why Sweden and Russia, and not Spain, Naples or Denmark? In the case of Spain it is frankly admitted that material to support the main thesis cannot be extracted from its history.²⁷ Moving closer home, Mr. Palmer speaks of the 'rough kind of equality' in the colonies.²⁸ Twice he adds, except for slavery,²⁹ but are two perfunctory references enough for such a prominent feature of the American scene?

This raises a further difficulty. No doubt it could be argued that slavery, and other matters that are omitted, are irrelevant to the argument. And obviously if we allowed exceptions to dictate our interpretations we should never be able to detect any general tendencies in history at all. Mr. Palmer has made a gallant attempt to break away from the concentration on individual trees which during the last generation seems to have made it impossible for many historians ever to recognize a wood. If a major and essential aspect of a subject were to be excluded, that would be a different matter, and unfortunately I cannot help feeling that this is what has happened here. Since Mr. Palmer entitles his book a 'Political History' it would be grossly unfair to

²¹ p. 366.
²⁶ p. 374.

²² p. 447.
²⁷ p. 398.

²³ p. 367.
²⁸ p. 191.

²⁴ *ibid.*
²⁹ p. 191, 235.

criticize it simply on the ground that it is not something else. The problem is whether the democratic revolution of which he writes can be understood in purely, or even predominantly, political terms. Thus he seems, in writing of the French Revolution, to want to draw a distinction between the revolution, which was political, and its results which might be social. He says, 'It remained primarily political . . . But in its effects on society and social and moral attitudes, it went far beyond the merely political.'³⁰ I wonder if this is a possible distinction. And if the results of the democratic movement extend far beyond the political, do not also its causes? One can see the difficulty: the material for a synthesis on social evolution in the second half of the eighteenth century hardly exists. Lacking this, a general history has to be political or nothing. Where some serious work has been done on social analysis, as it has in the history of America, Mr. Palmer does in fact make good use of it. This may be why his discussion of the American Revolution seems so much more substantial than what he has to say of the democratic revolution in other countries. It may also be the reason why the American Revolution is the one which, in his picture, breaks away farthest from the generalized pattern.

There is another aspect of the democratic revolution which also still lacks fundamental research. This is the development of the idea of popular sovereignty and its progress from theory to practice. Mr. Palmer curiously (but inevitably, given the present state of work on the subject) devotes far more space to aristocratic than to democratic theory. The latter seems to boil down to Rousseau's *Contrat social*, 'the great book of the political revolution'.³¹ This is a subject for endless controversy, which need not be explored here; but Mr. Palmer weakens the case when he tells us that Sieyes 'translated the ideas of the *Contrat social* into the language of 1789'.³² The opposition between *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?* and the *Contrat social* is glaring, and if Sieyes adequately represented the ideas of the Tiers Etat of 1789, the political influence of the *Contrat social* on them must have been negligible. But the history of the political ideas of the period requires much further investigation.

If we end on a series of questions, this should not diminish our gratitude to Professor Palmer for being the first to venture on the bold synthesis which forces them upon our attention. We are beginning to have some idea who and what the American revolutionaries were. But who were the Dutch Patriots? What kind of merchants were these who are said to have rioted in the streets of Amsterdam, and what was the 'amorphous populace'³³ that shouted *Oranje boven* through The Hague? Because of the valuable work of Susanne Tassier we know about some of the Vonckist democrats in the Austrian Netherlands, whose leaders at least seem to have been largely professional men, but the social composition of the French revolutionaries of 1789, and how far they can be called democrats, is evidently still a matter of controversy.

³⁰ p. 441.

³¹ p. 119.

³² p. 489.

³³ p. 340.

Since Mr. Palmer throughout his book emphasizes that the democrats in America, Holland, Geneva and elsewhere looked to France, one might have expected to learn something of the democratic movement before 1789 inside France itself. Instead we are taken straight from the Aristocratic Revolt to the 'revolutionary psychology' of 1789, and whether this is to be regarded as essentially democratic is not clear to me, though at the end of the book, in an Appendix, it is argued that the Constitution of 1791 was 'somewhat more "democratic", and somewhat less "bourgeois", than has been commonly said'.³⁴ More than this is needed if the democratic revolution in France, when it comes, is not to be produced, surprisingly but unconvincingly, like the card one originally thought of, out of the conjurer's pack. Mr. Palmer does indeed tell us that 'France before 1789 was full of Dutch, Belgian, Swiss, Irish, and even English political expatriates'.³⁵ I can't identify any English or Irish political refugees at this time, but that may be mere ignorance. The point is, that for a French democratic revolution it would be useful to have some Frenchmen.³⁶ I am not suggesting that antecedents for 1793 and 1794 might not be found in France if they were looked for, but only that until they have been looked for there is a fatal gap in Mr. Palmer's thesis.

Again, whether the reformers in England were democrats in Mr. Palmer's sense of the term, and whether the English Protestant dissenters and the Irish Catholics fall into the same category, if 1780 in the British Isles was indeed a French Revolution *manqué*, what roots there were, in towns like Sheffield and Bristol before the 'nineties, for the later growth of the Corresponding Societies—these are questions which it is easier to ask than answer. What do we know of democracy in Sweden, or Poland, or Austria? It is no criticism of Mr. Palmer to say that his book does not answer these questions, for the research has not been done that would enable them, and many others like them, to be answered. Really his 'Age of the Democratic Revolution', which used to be called the Age of Enlightened Despotism, could, on the strength of his analysis, with much more appropriateness be called the Age of the Aristocratic Revival, for this is the subject to which the greater part of his book is devoted. It is far better documented (outside America) than the democratic movement, but is this because it was a much more widespread and substantial movement, or merely because we lack the knowledge of the democratic movement that would reveal its real shape to us? The function of the historian is not necessarily to answer all questions. One sign of a good history is that it should incite us to ask them. This Mr. Palmer's *Age of the Democratic Revolution* does in ample measure.

³⁴ pp. 522-8.

³⁵ pp. 367-8.

³⁶ Brissot is mentioned as an example of American influence.

HISTORY BOOKS FOR SCHOOLS: IX

PHYLLIS M. HEMBRY

The Ladies' College, Cheltenham

AMERICAN HISTORIANS seem to have a particular interest in supplying a type of book which is basic to any good school library: an outline of Western civilization. Here is yet another of them, *A Short History of Western Civilization* by Professor J. B. Harrison and Professor R. E. Sullivan, both of Michigan University.¹ The book is designed to cover a year's course in the basic facts of Western civilization at about Intermediate level. 'Western' is interpreted in the conventional pattern to embrace the ancient civilizations of the Near East and the Mediterranean, Europe, and those lands settled or conquered by European peoples. Some account is also given of the impact of Western on Oriental civilizations. As might be expected in a book emerging from an American university, this means that much attention is given to China, Japan and South-East Asia generally, but little to Africa. The 'scramble for Africa' in the nineteenth century is dismissed in four longish paragraphs.

The story of how the classical civilization of pagan Greece and Rome produced its heritage for the 'God-centred civilization' of the middle ages, and of how this spiritual unity of Western Christendom was ultimately wrecked by the emergence of aggressive nationalism, leaving Man still groping for the rule of International Law, is taken up to 1959. The authors claim the merits of clarity and brevity, and these they have most successfully achieved. Inevitably, in a work of such compression and simplification, some generalizations lose much of their truth, as in the sweeping claims for 'Tudor absolutism'.

The Early Modern period is, in fact, the weakest part of this book. The other sections, both in the text and in the suggested reading list, reveal an acquaintance with the best modern authorities, for example, Kitto on the Greeks, Barraclough on medieval Germany, and, in the modern period, Brogan on France and A. J. P. Taylor on the Habsburgs, although even here there are some obvious omissions, such as Bullock on Hitler. But in the Early Modern period a rather dated reading list has perpetuated views that have since been revised. Students of Pollard know that the Star Chamber was not set up by Henry VII. No one who has read Neale on the Elizabeth Parliaments could write that the Tudors 'had gained nearly complete control over England by 1603', or that 'the Tudors always managed to get Parliament to do exactly what they wanted'. Motley is still used as the authority on the revolt of the Netherlands, in spite of the work of Geyl and Renier, and so religion is still given as 'the chief' of the causes of dissension. We look in vain for Plumb on Walpole, who is still 'the first Prime Minister', Ogg on

¹ *A Short History of Western Civilization*. By J. B. Harrison and R. E. Sullivan. Alfred A. Knopf. 1960. xiv + 723 + xxxix pp. illus. maps. \$8.50.

Charles II and William III, and Carsten on the origins of Prussia. In view of the work of Brandi and Tyler, surely Armstrong is no longer the standard authority for Charles V?

Yet the book has the transcending merit of a lucid narrative, with a minimum of dates and a skilful use of significant figures and observations: after Dunkirk Great Britain had only one fully equipped division, the Nazis had 150; by the end of the Second World War the Nazis had murdered 6 million Jews out of a world total of 15 million; Japan's dilemma of over-population is underlined by the fact that only 14 per cent of her land is arable. The liberal provision of excellent maps and the attention paid to literary, artistic and intellectual movements, are other strengths of this book, although social and economic history is almost entirely neglected.

By comparison, Mr. L. J. Cheyney's *A History of the Western World*,² admittedly written for a more junior public, is far less sound and comprehensive. 'The western world' does not, apparently, include the Scandinavian countries (except as the source of the Vikings), nor the Middle East (except in ancient times and the modern state of Israel). Consequently Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII of Sweden, the Crimean War (apart from one brief reference to Sardinia), the Congress of Berlin, and the resulting Austro-Russian rivalry contributing to the First World War, are omitted. Incidentally Mr. Cheyney is much happier explaining the background of the Second than of the First World War: he sees the latter almost entirely in terms of colonial rivalry.

Any attempt to write history on this scale is a severe exercise in selection, and what should and what should not be included is largely a matter of opinion. Yet the author tends to become too insular in places. His section on the social and cultural developments of the eighteenth century, although headed 'The Wealth of Nations', is a description of English society, and likewise in the sixteenth-century chapter the Habsburg-Valois dispute is omitted, and there is only a cursory reference to the French Wars of Religion. The seventeenth and eighteenth-century sections are perhaps the weakest, especially in dealing with the wars between England and France. There is no attempt to explain Louis XIV's relations with the later Stuarts or the English fear of popery and arbitrary rule. Much space is devoted to a narrative of the wars, but little to an analysis of their causes or to the significance of their results.

There are other odd omissions. The Jacobite rebellion of '45 is brought in, but not that of '15, nor is the Act of Union of 1707 mentioned. The author's interest in the British Navy and in industrial development is apparent, and these sections are well done, but social experiment and progress in recent times is neglected. The development of socialism, the provision of education for the masses and the emancipation of women are all lacking. History is, by Mr. Cheyney's own definition, 'the story of great men'; apparently not of women. Mme Curie has the singular honour to be included in his story, otherwise women have to be queens to qualify. One would like to see more emphasis placed on the creation of U.N.O. in 1945, and reference to the Atlantic Charter and to N.A.T.O.

There are debatable interpretations and inaccuracies of fact. Henry VIII

² *A History of the Western World*. By L. J. Cheyney. Allen and Unwin. 1959. 335 pp. illus. maps. 18s.

is dismissed as 'a wilful tyrant'; not everyone would agree that the English were driven out of France 'largely' by Joan of Arc's inspiration; Cromwell was not a 'wealthy gentleman from the Fens', he had about £500 a year, which Maurice Ashley considers 'modest' by contemporary standards: the British Commonwealth of Nations is referred to, even in 1958, as 'the British Empire'; Wilton is not in Somerset but in east Wiltshire; Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands was in 1585, not 1587.

Yet weighed against the enormous labour which has gone to the making of the book and the care that has been taken to keep the time sequence alive, these are small criticisms. The explanations that give point to the story, how the Athanasian Creed acquired its name, why early churches took the form they did, the derivations of Spanish names in the New World: these are the things that children like to know. A brilliant imagination produces some delightful passages, for example the description of the heterogeneous American colonists in the late seventeenth century. The middle school library will be only too grateful for any attempt to write history on a broad scale.

People and Power: The Story of Four Nations by Mrs. K. Savage³ could be a most useful supplement to Mr. Cheyney's book for teachers wanting deeper information about the history of Russia, Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. Yet it stands in its own right, not as a conventional textbook, but a valuable general reader. The author's purpose is to cultivate deeper understanding of the historical background, traditions and social characteristics of these four nations who played leading rôles in the Second World War, in the hope of helping to eliminate conflicts which may lead to a third global war. The laws of *bushido* are explained to account for the, to western minds, inexplicable cruelty of the Japanese in Malayan jungle warfare. The 'go-getter' attitude of the Americans is made intelligible by stories of the frontier pioneers, to whom courage and enterprise were the most prized social qualities and birth and education of no account. The book is clearly and concisely written with only a few errors, for example, the Hundred Years War did not end with the martyrdom of Joan of Arc in 1431, but in 1453. It is not true to say that Bismarck held no important post before he became Minister-President in 1862, since he was ambassador to Russia 1859-62 and to France for a short while in 1862. Louis Napoleon obviously did not take the title Napoleon III in 1848, when he became President, but in 1852 when he converted the position into that of Emperor. One hopes that *People and Power* will achieve its missionary purpose by being included in many school libraries: adults could also read it with profit.

The purpose of the series *Problems in European Civilization* was explained in the last of these history book reviews by Dr. D. F. Findlay. Now there is another in this excellent series, *The Coronation of Charlemagne. What did it Signify?* edited by Professor R. E. Sullivan.⁴ He challenges Bryce's statement that the coronation on Christmas Day in A.D. 800 was 'the central event of the Middle Ages' by comparison with the views of Barraclough, Dawson, Halphen and others. A similar series is *Source Problems in World Civilization*, which presents *The Tenth Century: How Dark the Dark Ages?* by Mr. R. S.

³ *People and Power: The Story of Four Nations*. By K. Savage. O.U.P. 1959. 234 pp. illus. maps. 15s.

⁴ *Problems in European Civilization Series. The Coronation of Charlemagne. What did it Signify?* Edited by R. E. Sullivan. Harrap. 1959. xvi + 99 pp. 10s. 6d.

Lopez.⁵ Against the evidence of anarchy, two hundred thousand barbarians said to have been massacred at the battle of Lenzen in 929, is contrasted the record of achievement. During the tenth century Christianity nearly doubled the area under its control. And so on. Another of similar kind is *Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War* by Mr. N. Garfinkle in *Problems in American Civilization*.⁶ Here an attempt is made to assess Lincoln's rôle in the events leading up to the Civil War, and to examine the alternative courses of action open to him. These studies of comparative, and often contradictory, historical evidence are a most useful means of training the critical faculties of Sixth-formers and of teaching them to be wary of dogmatic and superficial judgements. As one who has tried them with an Advanced Level class, I can warmly recommend them.

Another useful tool for those doing Advanced Level work, this time on the nineteenth century, is *Nineteenth Century Britain* by Mr. A. Wood.⁷ This is an excellent basic textbook which follows a chronological pattern and concentrates on political history. By eliminating illustrations the publishers have produced a most readable text at a moderate price. Although it contains a satisfying depth of detail it is written so concisely and clearly that it does not give the impression of a heavily factual book. The changing fortunes of ministries are particularly well explained and made intelligible, and not only are the precise effects of acts of reform explained, but also what was left undone by each reform, for example by Peel's reform of the penal code. Explicit information is given on points too often left vague, for example, on the property qualification for M.P.s which was abolished in 1858, and on Lord Randolph Churchill's ideas of Tory Democracy. There are some judicious assessments, nothing is taken for granted: a defence is put forward even for Palmerston's handling of the Schleswig-Holstein affair. Only one or two interpretations are open to challenge: there is the conventional and now debatable view that eighteenth-century enclosures were 'entirely in the favour of the great landowner', and that Chartism 'was entirely concerned with political aims'. This last statement is later contradicted (p. 128) by saying that the Second Petition 'concentrated mainly on the iniquities of the Poor Law'.

Mr. S. Reed Brett has attempted to help the Secondary Modern Schools and the corresponding sections of the Comprehensive Schools in preparing selected pupils for the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E. in his new book, *From George III to George VI*.⁸ He has selected the major topics of two centuries linked by threads of general narrative. This book is, in fact, a compression of his earlier, much-used books with an extension to 1952, but the attempt to deal with 1760–1952 in 383 pages has resulted in a concise and accurate summary of too solid fact. Many teachers will use this book for handy reference and many of the more diligent children will learn it by rote, but will they pass Ordinary Level on it? Will it help them to develop those powers of argument and understanding for which the G.C.E. examiners are always, rightly, asking? More important still, how many children in our 'dull'

⁵ Source *Problems in World Civilization Series. The Tenth Century: How Dark the Dark Ages?* Edited by R. S. Lopez. Rinehart, New York. 1959. 58 pp. s.p.

⁶ *Problems of American Civilization Series. Lincoln and the Coming of the Civil War*. Edited by N. Garfinkle. Harrap. 1959. vii + 113 pp. 11s.

⁷ *Nineteenth Century Britain*. By A. Wood. Longmans. 1960. xi + 476 pp. 21s.

⁸ *From George III to George VI*. By S. Reed Brett. Arnold. 1959. 400 pp. illus. maps. 10s. 6d.

streams will be inspired to an interest in history by it? There are no anecdotes, no lively passages, no contemporary sources in it. The opportunity to revise some outworn interpretations has been lost. Again we are told that 'for the masses of landworkers, enclosures were disastrous'. Dr. Plumb will not agree that George I 'neither spoke nor understood English', and few will accept that 'It is not too much to say that it was Methodism more than any other influence which saved Britain from political upheaval and bloodshed.' Against these criticisms, the illustrations are excellent and there are useful chapter summaries.

For similar pupils Mr. A. H. Hanson's *The Lives of the People*,⁹ Book III, is a most lively and stimulating book. He says 'the whole book is about problems', and so it is, social and economic problems expressed in simple and yet informed terms, so that even the slowest child will comprehend and want to know more. This simple economic history introduces a minimum of political fact, but much could be built on the outline which it provides from ancient times to the present day. To be used most effectively this book should obviously provide part of a course incorporating the previous two books in this series, and it is an admirable means of teaching history to the not-so-bright, especially since it ends with a discussion of present-day problems, such as the work of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. Some of the unusual and yet significant information will intrigue children: the introduction of improved harness and of iron shoes for horses in the tenth century gave them a pulling power equal to ten slaves, 10 man-power in fact. The importance of the adoption of the hinged flail in the eleventh century and of the ship's rudder in the thirteenth century are explained. Who can fail to be interested in a penny slot-machine for holy water of the first century A.D.? More stress might be placed on the emergence of the gentry as a social power in the sixteenth century, the troublesome eighteenth-century enclosures might be looked at afresh, and the Statute of Artificers might be correctly dated as 1563, but otherwise there is little to criticize, and the list of suggested activities at the end is most helpful.

A book which *does* get the eighteenth-century enclosures in better perspective is the first of two volumes, *Modern World History* by Mr. A. G. L. Shaw of Sydney University.¹⁰ The first volume covers the general movements, social, political and economic, of English, European and some American history from 1780 to 1914. The second volume will be more useful to teachers in England, for there are fewer books of its scope: it covers the period 1914-1950 and is almost global in its treatment, with emphasis, as one would expect in an Australian textbook, on the new nations of Asia. These books would be useful for a good Upper Fifth studying the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for general education: they do not contain enough detail to meet the requirements of the Ordinary Level of G.C.E. Moreover at 17s. 6d. and 18s. 6d. these books do seem to be rather expensive, especially since the quality of the paper is rather poor, and the illustrations, although unusual and significant, are indifferently reproduced.

There are three new books in the *Then and There Series*: two complementary

⁹ *The Lives of the People*, Book III. By A. H. Hanson. Heinemann. 1959. x + 279 pp. illus. 8s. 6d.

¹⁰ *Modern World History: Social, Political and Economic Development, 1780-1950*, 2 vols. By A. G. L. Shaw. F. W. Cheshire Pty., Melbourne. 1959. illus. maps. Book I, x + 288 pp. 17s. 6d. Book II, ix + 278 pp. 18s. 6d.

ones, *Alfred and the Danes* by Dr. Marjorie Reeves and *The Vikings* by Mr. G. L. Proctor, and also *Ancient Rome* by Mr. N. Sherwin-White.¹¹ Dr. Reeves' book is not too narrowly the story of Alfred, but explains something of Anglo-Saxon life in general, such as the part played by a man's kindred and by blood-feuds. It will be most useful in teaching a subject that never palls with the juniors. Mr. Proctor's book is one of the most informative in this series. Based on the story of an imaginary Norseman, Sigurd, who took part in Canute's invasion of England in 1015, there is yet plenty of authentic detail drawn, for example, from the Gokstad and Oseberg ships and the *Landnama Book*, about how the Vikings lived, but it is a little confusing when fictitious characters are mixed up with real ones. The settlement of the Vikings in Scotland, Iceland, France and Russia is dealt with, and some of the evidence of their settlement of Greenland is described. There is a useful list of suggested activities, such as a list of Scandinavian place-names for happy map-hunting, and a stimulating list of essay subjects. Mr. Sherwin-White's *Ancient Rome* is less successful. In setting himself the task of simplifying the facts and terminology of Roman civilization to make them intelligible to juniors, his outline has become so bare and generalized as to be constantly misleading and at times inaccurate. No reference at all is made to Pyrrhus or the First Punic War, tribunes are said to make laws, and Octavian is described as the nephew of Julius Caesar. The reader is further hampered by strange choices of expression: Rome is a 'league of Italian Nations', the Roman 'government' changed every year. The later sections on daily life are more attractively presented with interesting detail and lively illustration from contemporary sources. Even so the style remains pedestrian, and some of the author's suggestions, such as using the phonetic spelling 'Eenyass' and his comparison of a papyrus to a toilet-roll are hardly conducive to classroom discipline.

Among the later medieval studies there is Mr. D. Taylor's *Chaucer's England*.¹² This is an excellent little social history suitable for the general reading of the middle school to supplement the textbooks of political history. It covers such varied subjects as Chaucer's London, the condition of the church, architecture, warfare and amusements. The detail is authentic and precise, based on wide research: there is, for example, an adequate description of the Luttrell Psalter. There are careful links with twentieth-century topography which add to the interest. Some contemporary references will, unfortunately, soon make the book dated. I have in mind a comparison with Gilbert Harding's *Book of Manners*. There are a few questionable statements. Is it really true that bricks were not manufactured in England until the fifteenth century? Surely the word 'serf' is used very loosely in the statement that about half the total population of England were serfs in the fourteenth century?

For the general reader and senior pupils there is *Discovering Mediaeval Art* by Miss G. M. Durant.¹³ This is an appreciative account of the general characteristics of illuminated manuscripts, mosaics, wall-paintings, medieval crosses, ecclesiastical architecture, sculpture, and stained glass, with a passing reference to carved woodwork, the embroideries of the *Opus Anglicanum* and others. By tireless journeys and much research the author has traced the

¹¹ *Then and There Series*. Longmans. *Alfred and the Danes*. By M. Reeves. 74 pp. illus. maps. 1959. 3s. *The Vikings*. By G. L. Proctor. 108 pp. illus. maps. 1959. 3s. 3d. *Ancient Rome*. By N. Sherwin-White. 92 pp. illus. maps. 1959. 3s.

¹² *Chaucer's England*. By D. Taylor. Dobson. 1959. 191 pp. illus. 12s. 6d.

¹³ *Discovering Mediaeval Art*. By G. M. Durant. Bell. 1960. viii + 256 pp. illus. 21s.

genesis of the art of illustration as the fifteenth century knew it back to classical Greek and Roman times. Although the style is a little precious and emotional at times, the book has an infectious interest and makes one want to see and know more. The glossary and the bibliography are both useful.

Younger readers who either haunt museums on wet days, or are taken to them, will be able to look at medieval exhibits more intelligently if they have first studied the six booklets which comprise the *Guide to Museum Bookshelves, Shelf Two, A.D. 600–1600* edited by Miss C. B. Firth.¹⁴ This is a guide to medieval craftsmanship in wood, thread, stone, everyday metals, gold, silver and precious stones, and skins. Some of the information is curious and interesting. A budget was originally 'a large, limp leather wallet' in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer carried his important papers. Armour made entirely of leather was moulded into shape and hardened by heat, and this kind of leather was called *cuir bouilli*. Seal rings, *cloisonné* enamels, misericord seats, and black-work embroidery are among the products of medieval craft-work usefully described. A teachers' booklet which accompanies the set gives information about the sources, reproductions and additional reading on the objects described.

An addition to the Methuen's Outlines is *Norman England* by R. R. Sellman,¹⁵ which covers the Conquest and political, social and religious history up to 1154. Illustrated with Mr. Sellman's usual excellent maps, which include those to illustrate foreign interventions 1067–71, Norman sees, castles, boroughs and towns with Jewries, it will be much in demand. It is a pity that more use was not made of the Bayeux Tapestry, but apart from minor criticisms this is a book to recommend.

There are two sets of books for the Primary Schools. In the Johnston's *History Through Stories* series there are three graduated volumes.¹⁶ Mr. G. Guest's *First Stories in History: From Cave Man to Roman Britain* has now reached its third edition and tells the story of how people lived in ancient civilizations in very simple form. In second edition is Mr. E. Boog Watson's *Stories of the Middle Ages* which tells the stories of well-known 'heroes' including Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, Hereward the Wake, Robin Hood, Llewellyn and Joan of Arc. The third, and new, book is for older children: *Stories from the Age of Discovery*, also by Mr. Guest. The age of discovery is widely interpreted to cover personalities ranging from William Caxton, Robert Raikes and George Washington to the lesser-known Jan van Riebeek, who was responsible for the Dutch settlement of Cape Colony in 1652. These books have good, large print, a simple vocabulary, frequent black-and-white drawing illustrations, questions based on the text and other suggested activities. They contain the legends and stories which are part of every child's historical heritage.

¹⁴ *Museum Bookshelves Series. Second Shelf. Middle Centuries, A.D. 600–1600*. Edited by C. B. Firth. Ginn. 1960. Set of six, each on a different subject + Teachers' Booklet. 32 pp. each. illus. 6s. per set + Teachers' Booklet 1s.

¹⁵ *Methuen's Outlines Series. Norman England*. By R. R. Sellman. Methuen. 1959. 66 pp. illus. maps. 10s. 6d.

¹⁶ *History Through Stories Series*. Johnston and Bacon, Edinburgh.

i. *First Stories in History: From Cave Man to Roman Britain*. By G. Guest. 3rd edn. 1958. 144 pp. illus. maps. 5s.

ii. *Stories of the Middle Ages*. By E. Boog Watson. 2nd edn. 1959. 128 pp. illus. maps. 5s.

iii. *Stories from the Age of Discovery*. By G. Guest. 1960. 128 pp. illus. maps. 5s.

Two exciting books, *Ancient Egypt* and *Ancient Sumer*, by Mr. R. Carrington, come in the *Dawn of History Series*.¹⁷ These are social histories based on archaeological data and papyri and they contain sound information which will excite the imagination of Juniors. They owe a lot to the bold illustrations by Mr. C. Hutton. They are very good value at 3s. each and should make class sets possible.

A book of another kind for the middle school is *Twenty Great Men of Asia* by Mr. K. G. Tregonning of the University of Malaya.¹⁸ The selected lives include those of the founders of the world's great religions, such as Lao-Tze, Confucius, Jesus and Mahammed, and of great rulers like Chandragupta who founded the Maurya dynasty in India 322 to 298 B.C., Kublai Khan, the thirteenth-century Emperor of China, and Suryavarman II, the twelfth-century Emperor of Cambodia. This is a good elementary introduction to a field of history about which we shall all in the future need to know much more. Publishers and author are to be congratulated on their initiative.

Producers of historical plays as well as pupils studying costume will be grateful for *Discovering Costume* by Miss A. Barfoot,¹⁹ which is the potted best of Iris Brooke and other authorities. Changing styles and details of materials and colours are explained by concise notes with ample, well-labelled illustrations. Care is taken to give parts of costumes their correct technical terms. There is a good glossary and a bibliography for further reference.

One welcomes warmly the series of county histories for schools being put out by Darwen Finlayson Ltd, but one cannot help feeling that in the one here under review, *A History of Yorkshire* by Mr. W. E. Tate and Mr. F. B. Singleton,²⁰ a splendid opportunity has been lost. The general effect is pedestrian and dull: it lacks in particular the vital colour that quotation from local records could give. Mr. G. Bryant has provided them with some excellent maps, but other books in the same series, notably the one on Essex, have been enlivened by fine reproductions of contemporary maps. The chronological story tends to peter out after the civil wars, certainly after the early nineteenth century. Here again the Essex history scores by having a section on the last hundred years. One looks in vain for something on the Jacobites, who are dealt with in the companion volume on Lancashire, and education in the county receives scant treatment, although other volumes in the series have sections on Grammar Schools. The *Select Dictionary of Essex Biography* is another feature that the Yorkshire historians might have borrowed, and one regrets that they neglected to say more about the development of towns, other than York, which has a separate chapter and to introduce the work that has been done on the deserted village site at Wharram-Percy.

¹⁷ *Dawn of History Series*. Chatto and Windus. *Ancient Sumer; Ancient Egypt*. By R. Carrington. 1960. Each 47 pp. illus. maps. Limp covers. 3s. each.

¹⁸ *Twenty Great Men of Asia*. By K. G. Tregonning. University of London Press. 1959. 96 pp. illus. Limp covers. 3s. 6d.

¹⁹ *Discovering Costume*. By A. Barfoot. University of London Press. 1959. 128 pp. illus. 8s. 6d.

²⁰ *A History of Yorkshire*. By W. E. Tate and F. B. Singleton. Darwen Finlayson. 1960. 72 pp. illus. maps. 16s.

EDITORIAL NOTES

IT IS INTERESTING to discover, in a scholarly study by Dr. P. Hardy,¹ parallels between the writing of history in medieval Europe and in Muslim India. The aim of the Muslim chroniclers, says Dr. Hardy, was to serve the true religion. Since history is the history of believers, only the deeds of Muslims count as historical actions: things may happen to unbelievers but they are passive material on whom history acts, unconnected with the real historic forces, for history is the spectacle of divine ordination. An important difference from the chroniclers of medieval Europe is that the Muslim chroniclers admit of no development, human nature is fixed by divine ordinance for all time: the present succeeds the past but is not the outcome of it. Dr. Hardy compares the result with the kind of orthodox Communist history with which we are too familiar, in which every issue finds its significance in terms of dialectical materialism. It is also not very different from the history, say, of Bossuet, which also shares what now seems to us the defect of the history of the Muslim or Christian middle ages—the failure to distinguish between history and religion. In an overt form the danger of this confusion is perhaps not very great now. Professor Toynbee's converts have been among the general public rather than among historians. The older religions have now largely come to terms with history; only on a rather low level do we find history exploited in their interests. Ideological history still survives, however, and it is important to note that the ideological historian is really the monkish or Muslim chronicler in disguise, whether he is defending the democratic revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries or the Marxist revolutions of the twentieth century.

Dr. Hardy also finds in his Muslim historians the inculcation of moral and political virtues by the arts of literature. Here we move on to the humanist ideal, which dominated Western historiography between the end of the monastic chronicles and the rise of critical history. A study of four American historians, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley and Parkman, by Professor David Levin, illustrates its persistence in the nineteenth century.² For these historians history is still the unfolding of a Providential plan, though now a secular rather than a religious one. The struggle of good against evil becomes the struggle of political liberty against absolutism. For the romantic historians he studies, says Mr. Levin, the evolution of liberty is the evidence of the working of divine and natural law. Liberty is above all American and Teutonic. The Teutonic blood triumphs in the heroic Dutchmen of Motley, the equally heroic Spaniards (descended of course from the Visigoths) of Prescott, the pioneers of Parkman, and the revolutionaries of Bancroft. (Lest all this produce a holier-than-thou attitude in the British breast, let us insert the chastening memory of Carlyle.) Mr. Levin's thoroughly documented book also suggests the tendency of his historians to sacrifice much to literary

¹ HISTORIANS OF MEDIEVAL INDIA. London: Luzac & Co. 1960. v + 146 pp. 30s.

² HISTORY AS A ROMANTIC ART. By D. Levin. Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xi + 260 pp. 44s.

effect. What I cannot quite make out is whether he realizes how devastating is the cumulative effect of his exposition. His reference to the 'highest standards of historical research' sounds ironical, but it is said with a very straight face.

In case we may be led to condemn literary history out of hand, Mr. Harold L. Bond, in a thoughtful study, reminds us that Gibbon also conceived of history as a literary art.³ The essential differences between Mr. Levin's romantic historians and Gibbon are that as literature the *Decline and Fall* is in a higher class; that Gibbon's mind was a better mind; and that his ideas were less subject to the influence of superficial and ephemeral sentiment. It has been assumed that because he wrote of the Roman Empire and in the age of benevolent despotism, this must have represented his political ideal. Mr. Bond points out that, on the contrary, for Gibbon the whole period of the Empire is, as it was for Machiavelli, a decline and fall from the days of the Republic. Of the Antonines, often assumed to represent his ideal rulers, Gibbon wrote, 'Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the Republic, had the Romans of their day been capable of a rational freedom.' The point was that they were not. Evidently Gibbon did not take his ideals merely from the politics of his day.

* * *

Our attention has been drawn to *Acta Poloniae Historica*, a substantial journal in English, French and German which made its first appearance in Warsaw in 1959, under the editorship of Professor Marian Malowist, with the objects of keeping foreign scholars abreast of Polish historical research and contributing to the discussion of questions of more than national interest. The first issue, which was largely devoted to agrarian studies, but also contained a soberly factual account of Nazi measures to colonize the Zamość region, is witness to the vitality of Polish historians, particularly in the writing of economic history. A useful feature is a survey of work in progress at the universities and other research centres, one of which, the *Instytut Historii Pan* (Warszawa, Rynek Staromiejski 31), sponsors this publication.

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An addition to the increasing number of reviews specializing in particular fields or periods is *The Journal of African History*, edited by R. A. Oliver and J. D. Fage from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. It is published by the Cambridge University Press and will have two numbers annually. The annual subscription is 30s. or \$5.50.

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We also welcome the appearance of the first number of *The Welsh History Review*, published by the University of Wales Press and edited by Professor Glanmor Williams of University College, Swansea. It is to appear annually at a cost of 7s. 6d. to subscribers. The editor defines his aims as: 'Without sacrificing scholarly standards, or the needs of professional students', to 'provide articles sufficiently attractive in style and content to appeal to many laymen who like their history palatable but undiluted'.

* * *

A fourth new journal is *History and Theory*, intended to provide 'a forum

³ THE LITERARY ART OF EDWARD GIBBON. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. 167 pp. 21s.

in which practising historians and philosophers of history can deal with common problems'. The editor is Professor George H. Nadel of Harvard University, and the publishers Mouton, The Hague (subscription \$5 a volume).

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A Society for the Study of Labour History has been founded. It plans to hold meetings once or twice a year and to publish a bulletin. The annual subscription is 10s. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively, are Professor Asa Briggs and Dr. E. J. Hobsbawm. The Secretary is Dr. J. F. C. Harrison of the University of Leeds, from whom further information may be obtained.

* * *

Members of the Historical Association may like to know of the series of pamphlets published by the Service Center for Teachers of History (400 A Street S.E., Washington 3, D.C.) for the American Historical Association at 50c. for individual copies.

The most recently published pamphlets are *The Near and Middle East: An Introduction to History and Bibliography* by R. H. Davison, *The New Deal in Historical Perspective* by F. Freidel, *The Far West in American History* by H. L. Carter, and *Five Images of Germany: Half a Century of American Views on German History* by H. C. Meyer.

* * *

A revolution in publishing, though not as great as that associated with the foundation of Penguin Books, has recently come about with the spread from America to Great Britain of paperback reprints of standard academic works. This has made it possible for students—and their teachers—to possess a small library of major works such as would formerly have been beyond their means, even if the books had been in print. The rapidly increasing scope of the paperbacks is perhaps not yet fully appreciated. A reference catalogue recently published (Whitaker, 2s. 6d.) contains nearly 6000 titles, including in the History section such books as Acton's *Lectures on Modern History* (Fontana, 6s.), Becker's *Heavenly City* (Oxford, 7s. 6d.), Bury's *Later Roman Empire* (Constable, 2 vols., 16s. each), Coulton's *Medieval Scene* (Cambridge, 10s. 6d.), Elton's *Tudor Revolution* (Cambridge, 25s.), Haskins' *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Meridian, 12s. 6d.), Pirenne's *Medieval Cities* (Mayflower, 8s.), Tanner's *Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I* (Cambridge, 20s.) and *English Constitutional Conflicts of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 18s. 6d.).

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The next Annual Meeting of the Historical Association will be held at the University College of North Staffordshire, at Keele, from 5 to 8 April 1961. There will be lectures by the President, Professor C. N. L. Brooke and Professor Jack Simmons, and as usual discussion groups. The College is set in a fine landscaped park, and accommodation will be provided in modern halls of residence. Visits are being arranged to Chatsworth, Haddon Hall, Lichfield, Chester, Shrewsbury, and to industrial centres in the Five Towns.

REVIEWS AND SHORT NOTICES

ANCIENT

ANCIENT SEMITIC CIVILIZATIONS, by Sabatino Moscati (London: Elek Books. 1957. 254 pp. 25s.), is a translation of an Italian work published in 1949. Though written for a non-specialist public, it attempts for the first time a synthesis which is of considerable interest to the scholar. The author stresses the essentially linguistic nature of the term 'Semitic', but claims that as bearers of a distinctive culture, as inheritors of a common tradition and as descendants of nomadic pastoral tribes in a common area, the Semites can be grouped together; in the Epilogue he attempts to analyse the unifying traits which unite them, and the Semitic contributions to human culture—the alphabet, various literary themes, legal concepts, and astronomical and mathematical discoveries—and stresses above all the religious aspect, the development of a monotheistic religion from the early pantheism of the first Semites. A chapter is devoted to each people; their history is briefly sketched, with an outline of the characteristics of their civilization, their religion and literature, their legal and social institutions. One of the most valuable chapters is that on the Arabs, which contains the results of recent researches in Arabia and presents to the general reader much new information. The illustrations, which have been newly chosen for this edition, also contain a number of striking recent discoveries and are a valuable part of the book.

The wide scope of the book, and the necessarily brief treatment each civilization must be given, of necessity leaves to each reviewer some personal cause for complaint. The Carthaginians are barely mentioned, Phoenician colonization in the western Mediterranean is given what is nowadays considered too early a date, and the Phoenician contribution to civilization is hardly given its due. No mention is made of the nomadic Semites who threatened the Amorite states at the time of the Mari letters and the problem of the *Khabiru* and Hebrew origins is lightly passed over. There is no mention of the modern Mandaeans or Subba with their ancient sacrificial and baptismal rites and their liturgical script and language. But these are small criticisms to set against the value of the whole work.

University College, London

M. S. DROWER

Martin Noth's *Geschichte Israels* was first published in 1950, and the English translation THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL (London: A. and C. Black. 1958. 479 pp. 42s.) is of the second edition, extensively revised by the author. This is perhaps the best of all modern one-volume attempts to reconstruct the history of Israel within the framework of the nations of the ancient Near East; it is an admirable introductory survey for the general reader, critical in its approach and amply documented. Liberal footnotes contain the results of recent archaeological and textual research and more detailed discussion of particular problems. The scope of the work is wide; it ranges in time from the problems of the origins of the Hebrew peoples to the failure of the second revolt in A.D. 135 and the founding of Aelia Capitolina. The

views of the author on the early history of Israel and the amphictyony of the Twelve Tribes, have not met with universal agreement and not every scholar will accept his chronology in all particulars, but the problems are fairly stated and his special interest in the ancient topography of Palestine makes his geographical comments of particular value. It is to be regretted that the bibliography is inadequate to guide the reader to more specialized reading. There is disappointingly little discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and only the briefest reference to the Ugaritic texts. The translation on the whole reads well but suffers from some curious defects such as 'Accadic', 'Islamite' for Islamic, and the retention of the cumbrous German *dsch* for *j* in Arabic place-names.

University College, London

M. S. DROWER

THE GENERALSHIP OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Major-General J. F. C.

Fuller. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1958. 319 pp. 35s.

Major-General Fuller has written an exciting book re-telling and explaining Alexander's campaigns in the light of modern military knowledge. Naturally, the book is weighted towards the outlook of the man of action, and those who read it for the story will not wish to put it down. But it is disconcerting to see this prejudice allowed to govern his view of history. Socrates and Plato, for instance, are now 'Sophists' who are 'unable to understand' the problems of their day. Mr. N. G. L. Hammond, in his *History of Greece*, a book also weighted towards battles, associates Socrates with the Sophists. Why did Greeks such as Xenophon, no fussy-minded intellectual, see them as so distinct? Philip wins more approval: he was 'a man of outstanding character; practical, long-sighted and *unscrupulous*' (my italics). Does not the word give the show away, and suggest that the trouble is that Socrates' and Plato's 'sophistry' has more application to morals and politics in our day, as well as in Philip's, than is allowed by those who see too clearly in terms of the practical? Yet Major-General Fuller is no fool, any more than was Alexander, about the need for men to find some single world-view under which to unite, so that they can practise *Homonoia*, and 'live without quarrelling'. (Tarn's translation of this noble word.)

University College, London

J. H. KELLS

CARTHAGE. By B. H. Warmington. London: Hale. 1960. 222 pp. 21s.

Here is a complete history of Carthage in over 100,000 words, the first to be published in English for fifty years. The general reader, for whose benefit it is published, will find it interesting and should not blame its author for the fact that the Carthaginians remain an enigmatic people whom, with the small evidence that survives, it is not possible to bring into clear focus: traders from the ninth century B.C. who had no coinage of their own until the third (the Phoenicians themselves had none until the fifth), devotees of hateful and devilish religious practices. Apart from Hamilcar Barca and Hannibal and a character in an adaptation of a Greek play by Plautus, there is hardly a single Carthaginian who is more than a name to us. Yet Carthage came nearer than any other power to stifling the growth of Rome; and indeed there were Greek historians who wrote of the struggle from the Carthaginian point of view and who lamented its outcome. Rome destroyed Carthage, and

her history too. There is archaeology, of course, to call in aid; but, as the illustrations of this book show, archaeology cannot rewrite a lost history.

For the really disturbing weakness of this book, the publisher is to be blamed. On page 131 there are four references to the Bible (one to 2 Kings, and three to Jeremiah); with this exception there is not one single reference to an ancient source or to any modern article or book. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, in its struggle with Syracuse, 'Carthage, as we learn from a recently discovered inscription, looked to Greece'. Where do we find the inscription? It may be true that occasional references to sources, printed at the foot of the page, are as disturbing to the general reader as flies on an iced cake. But even the general reader cannot object to a few pages of notes printed at the end of a book. This book is, admittedly, very cheaply priced. Even if, in another edition, the addition of notes raised the price by a shilling or two, it would considerably widen the field of those who would feel inclined to buy the book.

Exeter College, Oxford

J. P. V. D. BALSDON

The first volume has been published of a new *STORIA DI VENEZIA*, planned to cover, under the general editorship of Professor Roberto Cessi and with contributions from different scholars, the history of Venice down to the unification of Italy. The present volume (*Venice: Centro Internazionale delle Arti e del Costume. 1957. 555 pp. Illus. Lire 7000*) is almost exclusively devoted to prehistory and ancient history and consequently to the Veneto rather than to Venice itself. Strictly speaking an introductory volume to a history of Venice, it will also be useful to students of prehistorical and Roman Italy in general. The chapter by G. G. Zille on the 'ambiente naturale' provides much interesting information on the physical background to Venetian history, and those on prehistory by R. Battaglia and on Roman and early Byzantine history by R. Cessi will serve as valuable, if perhaps somewhat detailed, introductions to it. G. Brusin contributes an important and richly illustrated chapter on Roman and early Christian archaeology of the region. The absence of footnotes, though possibly necessary in a work of this kind, is regrettable when controversial questions are concerned, and the fairly full bibliographical notes at the end of the chapters do not fill this gap. Short discussions of such questions, on the lines of Professor Cessi's introduction to his bibliographical note, might be adopted with profit throughout the work. The index would be made more manageable if long entries were split up (e.g. Aquileia has no less than 192 page-references). After Romanin's *Storia di Venezia* and Kretschmayr's *Geschichte von Venedig*, this work promises to become the standard history of Venice, and all students of Italian history will be grateful for its publication.

Westfield College, London

N. RUBINSTEIN

THE ATLAS OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD (London: Nelson. 1959. 70s.), edited by A. A. M. Van der Heyden and H. H. Scullard, is far more than an atlas. With 75 maps, 475 plates and much diagrammatic material, it is a magnificent accompaniment to the study of classical history and civilization. It should be in every school and undergraduate library and would be of interest and value to any general reader interested in the classical world.

IN THE GREEK HISTORIANS: THE ESSENCE OF HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, XENOPHON, POLYBIUS (London: Chatto and Windus. 1959. 501 pp. 30s.) M. I. Finley introduces and prints selections in translation from the work of the four Greek historians.

Ernest Stein's *Geschichte des spätrömische Reich, A.D. 284–476*, which concentrates particularly upon political and military history, was published in 1928. A second volume, from A.D. 476 to 565, appeared in French in 1949. The first volume has now been translated into French under the title *HISTOIRE DU BAS-EMPIRE: Tome I, DE L'ÉTAT ROMAIN A L'ÉTAT BYZANTIN (284–476)* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer. 1959. 2 vols. xvi + 672 pp.). The translator, Professor J.-R. Palanque, has brought the bibliography up to date and added useful discussions of the more recent literature.

MEDIEVAL

THE ANGLO-SAXONS: STUDIES IN SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR HISTORY AND CULTURE PRESENTED TO BRUCE DICKINS. Edited by Peter Clemoes. London: Bowes. 1960. 322 pp. 35s.

This volume of essays was presented to Professor Dickins on his seventieth birthday. Most of the essays are concerned with aspects of Anglo-Saxon literature, language and archaeology: although the time when such work could be ignored by historians as irrelevant to their studies is happily past, appraisal must of course be left to expert critics. It will be sufficient to note here that Miss Harmer has edited two vernacular writs that have come to light since she published her great edition, and that interesting examinations of place-name evidence include a study by Professor Jackson of the etymology of the name *Edinburgh*, which, if his results can stand, throws new light on the Northumbrian occupation of Lothian.

In the strictly historical section of the book Sir Frank Stenton tries to correct a passage in the appendix to Florence of Worcester, relating to the pedigree of the seventh-century kings of the East Angles, by recourse to the traditional East Anglian king-list. On the strength of his revised genealogy he wishes to argue that the man buried at Sutton Hoo was King *Æthelhere*. I should be happier about his arguments if I were convinced that Sutton Hoo was really a royal burial, and that the archaeologists had given the alternative possibilities the consideration they deserve. In the course of his paper Professor Stenton makes it clear that he does not see eye to eye with Dr. Sisam on the value of the genealogies. He also insists that Penda was killed in 654, not 655, justifying his assertion by a reference to the chronology of Bede worked out by R. L. Poole. The weighty arguments by which Levison convinced most of us that this chronology in general and this date in particular would not do are brushed aside. Levison is not considered worth a mention. Dr. Wainwright has an interesting account of the career and importance of *Ælfred*'s daughter, *Æthelflæd*, lady of the Mercians. Dr. Wainwright is inclined to overvalue the *Chronicle* for these years—‘the

'national record' he prefers to call it. He assumes that what is not in it either did not happen or was deliberately suppressed. I should have thought the *Chronicle* at its best was so jejune that the argument from silence was dangerous in the extreme. Nevertheless the paper adds something fresh to what is known about the beginning of the West Saxon absorption of Mercia. Professor Whitelock has a complementary paper in which she tells us perhaps a little more than was known about the relations of the tenth-century West Saxon kings with their Northumbrian 'subjects'. If her paper is suggestive rather than conclusive it is none the worse for that. In *via* it seems she still thinks East Anglia formed part of the Danelaw, and that the D text of the *Chronicle* was compiled at York. Mr. H. M. Taylor has written a series of notes on some aspects of the architecture of Anglo-Saxon churches which whets the appetite for more—preferably a great deal more. In this, the best paper in the book, Mr. Taylor shows he commands a body of knowledge of pre-Conquest architecture which will probably seriously modify the received views and the standard accounts.

Altogether this is an interesting collection of essays worthy of the occasion which has called them out. They will, no doubt, give Professor Dickins pleasure, and they have something to teach all of us.

University of Manchester

ERIC JOHN

THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE CHRONICLE OF FREDEGAR WITH ITS CONTINUATIONS. Edited and translated by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (Nelson's Medieval Classics). London. 1960. lxvii + 1-121 pp. in duplicate + 122-137 pp. 42s.

The so-called *Chronicle of Fredegar* is a compendium of world history from the creation of man to the accession of Charlemagne, compiled from sources of varying antiquity in the eighth century. The part of it which forms an original historical source is the fourth book with its continuations, which covers the history of Gaul from 584 to 768, thus bridging the gap between Gregory of Tours and the *Annales Regni Francorum* and providing the nearest Frankish equivalent of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The chronicle has been analysed and dissected by many continental scholars—Krusch, Mommsen, Schnürer, Halphen, Lot, Baudot, Levillain and Hellmann—and has become a sort of Rubicon for medievalists to cross. Book IV has been variously claimed for one, two, or three authors, and the three continuations have been attributed to either one or four more. As a result English medievalists, frightened by the combination of higher criticism and low Latin, have usually left Fredegar severely alone and kept their Dark Age history insular. Now Professor Wallace-Hadrill has entered the field with a translation and introduction which we can all understand and a text which is new. He has himself examined almost all the manuscripts which survive and has based his text on a fresh collation of MS. Paris 10910, the main differences from the previous edition by Krusch being in the punctuation and paragraphing, which sometimes results in sentences falling in different chapters (e.g. 6, 7, 19, 20, 26, 27, 39-42) and saves the unwary from many possible blunders.

In his introduction the editor explains with admirable lucidity the main problems connected with the manuscripts, language and authorship of the chronicle. So far as authorship is concerned he leans towards the theory of Krusch as modified by Hellmann. He thinks that Book IV was written by

two authors, both of them Burgundian. The first centred his story on Theuderic II (596–613) and the notorious Brunechildis, the second on the reign of Dagobert I (622–38). The first continuation consists of a version of the *Liber Historiae Francorum* for the years 640–721 continued independently to 735 so as to embark on the history of Charles Martel. The second continuation has the remainder of the history of Charles Martel by one author, followed by that of Pippin III before his coronation, by another. The third continuation covers the career of Pippin III as king (751–86) and pays particular attention to his relations with, and devastation of, Aquitaine. It is all very complicated but Professor Wallace-Hadrill guides us through the maze. We may wish that we had been given the extra help of page-headings to distinguish between Book IV and the Continuations, but that is a small matter. The translation is both explanatory and racy (*miro opere* being rendered as 'regardless of cost' and *placito instituto* as 'at a court of enquiry') but with the Latin text on the opposite page, the translator is entitled to be bold. The footnotes are helpful and provide the necessary explanations and bibliographical assistance, and the work as a whole will instruct both experts and beginners. It is an impressive combination of deep scholarship and *haute vulgarisation*.

Merton College, Oxford

R. H. C. DAVIS

ST. EDMUND OF ABINGDON: A STUDY IN HAGIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

By C. H. Lawrence. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. 339 pp. 60s.

Although one of the most distinguished of the great thirteenth-century English bishops, St. Edmund Rich has hitherto seemed a rather dim and uninspiring personality. This excellent biography, however, shows that he was a worthy successor of Becket and Langton.

The book is a study in hagiography and history. The first part deals with the canonization process, of which the procedure had not yet been completely standardized. The insistence of the Curia on a second inquiry in England and the dispatch of certain witnesses in cases of alleged cures to the papal court for examination shows its thoroughness. The third part contains the *Quadrilogus*, or depositions of four members of St. Edmund's familia, one of whom was his chaplain Eustace of Faversham, Eustace's biography and that of Matthew Paris, his only extant hagiographical work in Latin. Dr. Lawrence has also given a very lucid account of the relation of these two lives and other contemporary ones to each other and to other documents connected with the canonization.

Thirteenth-century biographers with preconceived ideas of sanctity were naturally more interested in St. Edmund's hair shirt and other mortifications than in his university career and archiepiscopate. Dr. Lawrence has been able to throw new light on the financial circumstances of his family and to give approximate dates for his regencies in arts and theology at Oxford, but he has been unable to bring fresh evidence to confirm Roger Bacon's assertion that he was the first master to teach the new logic. The suggestion that he studied theology under Langton at Paris would account for his appointment to the treasurership of Salisbury during the episcopate of Richard Poore, a pupil of Langton's, and Simon Langton's part in securing his provision to Canterbury by the pope. The most interesting part of the historical section deals with the archiepiscopate about which Eustace is brief and vague

and Matthew Paris too prejudiced to be reliable, particularly in regard to the legate Otto, whom St. Edmund apparently found a wise, tactful and loyal colleague. Eustace's worst error, however, was to make St. Edmund's stay at Pontigny a voluntary exile in order to show that 'the mantle of Becket had descended on him'. Dr. Lawrence's theory that he fell ill there on his way to Rome is confirmed by the Hailes and Tewkesbury Annals, and is more probable psychologically. St. Edmund's firm and statesmanlike handling of the political crisis of 1234, just after his elevation to Canterbury, and the determination he later displayed in his relations with Henry III and his own cathedral priory, make it unlikely that he would suddenly throw up the sponge. The evidence for St. Edmund's visitation of certain dioceses in his province and the reconstruction of his familia from his few surviving *Acta* are useful contributions to the history of ecclesiastical administration.

This admirable and scholarly biography has certainly added to St. Edmund's stature, besides confirming the impression left by the contemporary ones that 'he appealed to the popular imagination because he satisfied the profound conviction of simple people that those who ruled the Church should be learned, humble and holy men'.

University of Hull

DECIMA DOUIE

CURIA REGIS ROLLS, II TO 14 HENRY III, VOL. XIII. London: H.M.S.O.
1959. xxiii + 762 pp. £10 10s.

The Curia Regis Rolls continue their stately, but expensive progress to our bookshelves. The present volume covers three years, Easter Term 1227 to Hilary Term 1230 inclusive, against its predecessor's one; it consists of 89 more pages and costs an extra guinea. We must evidently put up with the cost if we are to enjoy the use of fully indexed editions of the records of the central courts of justice in their most formative period. It is emphatically worth while to endure the cost, for the cases already available from these rolls, either in Bracton's Note-Book or the Book of Fees, are but a minute fraction of the material here presented. The young king, having attained his majority, is being initiated into his judicial duties. Points of interest in the rolls are innumerable. The process of dividing up burghal messuages is at work in Arundel (1220): the husband and sister-in-law of a murdered woman (killed with her husband's axe, her throat cut with his knife) refuse to put themselves on a jury, but since the jurors and the four neighbouring villages suspect them, they are hanged; the sheriff being allowed four shillings of the husband's thirteen shillings' worth of chattels for his food while he was in gaol (745): a prisoner accused by an approver is acquitted by the jurors (748): the church of Thrupp by Daventry is 'so poor that no clerk wishes to receive it' (1659): William le Braiose cannot appear because he is 'in Llywelyn's prison' (2316): Thomas of Moulton, the judge, seems to have acted as a neighbour's attorney (2194): although the plaintiff in an action of right admits the villeinage of all his ancestors the suit is ended by a final concord, the tenant agreeing to pay the plaintiff ten marks 'for the king's sake, whose cook was the plaintiff's attorney, and at the request of the judges' (2291). Attention should be called to the vast amount of tedious work, calling for constant checking and re-checking, behind the valuable introduction contributed by Mr. C. A. F. Meekings. He has elucidated the

history of the rolls and the dockets put on them by previous archivists and established the timetable of the Bench and the Eyres during these years.

DORIS M. STENTON

CALENDAR OF THE LIBERATE ROLLS, vol. iv, 1251–60. London: H.M.S.O.

1959. viii + 695 pp. £7.

These enrolments record mandates to the King's officials concerning expenditure and account, and provide highly valuable material on a critical period in the reign of Henry III. Financial records tend to lower rather than enhance reputations. If, on the one hand, this volume reveals Henry's uncontrollable extravagance, it suggests, on the other, that in 1258 the recovery of Simon de Montfort's debts was a not insignificant, if incidental, feature of the scheme of reform. However, in general, these records support the baronial rather than the royal case. Henry's financial mis-management was real enough: by the 1250s the practice of assignment was already common, and royal pensioners were each allocated their particular precedence in receiving or collecting their fees. In 1258–9 the large proportion of writs authorized by the magnates of the council or the Justiciar point to a genuine, if short-lived, baronial attempt to set Henry's house in order. As is well known, one of Henry's chief extravagances derived from his passion for building and art. This volume is a splendid record of these interests and activities, which are fully detailed in the excellent subject index. Even in the political crisis of 1259 Henry was issuing instructions that William the Painter should paint a pall on the white wall at the head of the bed in the King's Chamber at Guildford and paint pictures on the altar frontal in the chapel there. Some of these entries provoke speculation not only about Henry's financial common sense but also about his own and his age's taste. Consider the following scheme of decoration at Guildford—'to whiten and diaper the king's great chamber, and to paint the ceiling green and spangle it in comely fashion with gold and silver'. Those who use this volume will for ever associate Henry III with his favourite decorative motif—green paint and spangles.

University of Nottingham

J. C. HOLT

With imaginative generosity the Wiles Foundation annually invites a distinguished scholar to give a series of four lectures at The Queen's University of Belfast and afforces the local audience with experts in the chosen subject from elsewhere. The fourth Wiles Lectures, given by Professor T. F. T. Plucknett in May 1958 is now published: **EDWARD I AND CRIMINAL LAW** (Cambridge University Press. 1960. viii + 104 pp. 16s.). The title is misleading. It seems to promise a description and discussion of the changes in substantive law evident from the plea rolls of the various courts and other sources between 1272 and 1307; and of the greater changes in the administration of the criminal law: the virtual end of the general eyre in 1294, the developments in gaol delivery, vagabond and special trespass commissions, the use of the keepers of the peace and the rather feverish experiments of 1305–7 with trailbaston as a substitute for some of the things which the eyre had done and which still needed doing. But we are given little more on Edward I's reign than some remarks on the statutes of Westminster I and Winchester and on the 1298 enquiry into officials' misconduct, together with

the conclusion that 'to criminal law Edward I's parliaments contributed nothing'. 'Loss and Gain in Medieval English Criminal Law' might have expressed more accurately the theme which Professor Plucknett develops with characteristic style and clarity, for he is concerned with the ideas and principles that lay behind English criminal law from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries. He examines illuminatingly the tariffs for restitution to victims and for wrongdoers' punishments in the Anglo-Saxon Laws and Penitentials; the introduction in the twelfth century of the concepts of crown pleas and felony and of the procedure of indictment by local juries; the replacement of the inscrutable ordeals by what he feels was the equally inscrutable verdict of a jury; the promise held out by a century's influence of European thought on English lawyers, culminating in Bracton; and then, from Edward I's reign onwards, the increasing insularity of English Common Law, cut off by its language (French), its method of education (the Inns of Court and the Bar) and its means of law-making (decisions by judges with narrow horizons and statutes from parliaments of country gentlemen and merchants) from the most fruitful ideas of the many European civil and canon lawyers who were discussing and writing about crime, its nature, proof, prevention and punishment. He concludes that against the gains provided by a unified system of criminal law administered by the royal government as part of the Common Law there are to be set severe losses: failure to provide an intelligible code, such as Edward I's parliaments provided for the land law, failure to provide for an appeal from a criminal jury's verdict, excessive use of the death penalty, all losses that were to be felt until the nineteenth century; and the disappearance of the principle of restitution for the victim, a loss which still causes disquiet. All this is most readable and stimulating. It also makes one hope that Professor Plucknett may be tempted to turn to the narrower subject suggested by the title of his lectures and to give us a detailed description of what actually happened to the criminal law, both in substantive law and judicial administration, under Edward I.

Public Record Office

C. A. MEEKINGS

EARLY RECORDS OF THE BURGH OF ABERDEEN, 1317, 1398-1407.

Edited by W. Croft Dickinson. Publications of the Scottish History Society, Third Series, vol. XLIX. Edinburgh: Constable. 1957. cl + 266 pp.

For those working in the field of medieval Scottish administrative history, burgh records have always been of paramount importance, since central government was not nearly so highly organized in medieval Scotland as in England and, in consequence, Scottish administration tended to be markedly local in character. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Professor Croft Dickinson has used the Aberdeen burgh records as a basis upon which to reconstruct a history of medieval Scottish administration, since there are few local collections in Scotland which can equal these in antiquity and continuity. His detailed analysis of the factors which contributed towards the social and economic development of the Scottish burgh is, however, based on the records of a number of other important royal burghs besides Aberdeen. Similarly, his explanation of the activities of the Aberdeen burgh council, of the town's craftsmen and their gilds, of its merchants and their links with Scottish trade throughout the middle ages, is seen rightly as a part of a complex

but continuous and wider whole. Nevertheless, the Aberdonian is given full value. Sections x–xiii, for example, which deal with the burgh gilds and the burgh court, are particularly revealing. One only wishes that the discussion could have been extended to include the provostship of Gilbert Menzies, a wealthy merchant, who pushed his way into the exclusive circle of Sherars, Mars, Fyffes, Collisons and Chalmers in 1423, and whose family virtually controlled local affairs throughout the remainder of the fifteenth century. Yet enough is revealed to expose the turbulent state of internal politics in Aberdeen at that time, as merchants rivalled craftsmen in local power. Often, too, local affairs are made to underline or supplement our knowledge of national events. Thus in 1494, Aberdeen's stint for Perkin Warbeck's army is made more interesting when we know that in the following year Maximilian I was taking the bishop of Aberdeen to task over this very point at Worms. The Latin text itself, which bristles with problems, has been skilfully transcribed by Dr. Margaret Moore.

University of Aberdeen

LESLIE MACFARLANE

THE CHURCH IN THE DARK AGES, translated by Audrey Butler (London: Dent. 1959. xi + 642 pp. 42s.) is the second part of H. Daniel-Rops' *Histoire de l'Église du Christ* to appear in an English translation, forming a prelude to *Cathedral and Crusade* (*cf. ante*, xlivi. 128–9). It has all the faults and virtues of that book; it deals attractively with some subjects not normally covered in short church histories, but also contains numerous errors, curious mis-translations, weaknesses (particularly in treating Byzantine history), and is marked by a naïve idea of historical development.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE, by E. A. Fisher (London: Faber. 1959. 104 pp. 48 plates. 42s.) is an excellent introduction to a complex subject. It is better on architecture than sculpture, mainly because there are no illustrations of manuscripts, though the text naturally makes frequent references to the influence of illumination on sculpture. But the beginner who has read it will turn to the greater works of Clapham, Baldwin Brown, Collingwood and others with more understanding. Unfortunately its price puts it out of reach of the very type of student to whom it would be most useful, but it should be a *sine qua non* for school and university libraries. One merit of the work is that it embodies information from periodical articles which have appeared since Clapham's work was published.

H. W. C. Davis's classic MEDIEVAL EUROPE, first published in 1911, has been republished with a short bibliographical epilogue, explaining 'the ways in which medieval history has "changed" in the last fifty years' by R. H. C. Davis (O.U.P.: Home University Library. 1960. 200 pp. 8s. 6d.).

Les Capétiens et la France, written by Robert Fawtier as a course of lectures in 1940, has been translated into English by Lionel Butler and R. J. Adam under the title of THE CAPETIAN KINGS OF FRANCE (London: Macmillan. 1960. x + 242 pp. 30s.). It is a surprise to find that in the author's opinion 'very little historical work on the period has been published' in the intervening twenty years, but it remains true that this is the best short introduc-

tion to Capetian France that we have. The English version is attractively produced and has one advantage over the French original since it has an index.

THE HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF HAMBURG-BREMEN, by Adam of Bremen, translated with an introduction and notes by Francis J. Tschan (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xxxiv + 253 pp. 48s.) is important not only for the history of Scandinavia and the Baltic region, but also for German history in general. A portrait of the contemporary Archbishop Adalbert, one of the regents for the Emperor Henry IV, and a geographical account of the Baltic region are both fascinating. Adam was a sensible and observant man, and was always collecting fresh information to add to his history. He was remarkably free from superstition, and even knew that the world was round. The late Professor Tschan's translation, made from Schmeidler's edition, is therefore welcome. The translation is (on the whole) reliable and very readable. One's only regret is that the footnotes are not more helpful.

In her edition of **THE SHROPSHIRE PEACE ROLL 1400-1414** (Shropshire County Council. 1959. 145 pp. 25s.) Miss Elisabeth G. Kimball pursues the plan, initiated by Miss Bertha Putnam, of converting into print the records of medieval keepers and justices of the peace. The roll, which is the only Shropshire roll extant, covers a period when the Welsh border was a prey to serious disorder, crimes of violence and thefts, particularly of cattle, preponderating among the felonies and trespasses alleged. There is, however, hardly any evidence of the punishment of offenders. Miss Kimball supplies a Latin text with English abstracts, an introduction, table of sessions, and two indexes.

MEMOIRS OF A RENAISSANCE POPE (London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 381 pp. 30s.) is an abridgement of the *Commentarii* of Pius II (1458-64), translated by Florence A. Gragg and edited, with an introduction, by Leona C. Gabel. It makes available to English readers one of the most fascinating books ever written. The translation is not flawless, but reads well: the full version is to be found in the Smith College Studies in History, vols. xxii, xxv, xxx, xxxv and xlili (1937-57).

EARLY MODERN

CHARLES-QUINT ET SON TEMPS. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Paris: Editions du C.N.R.S. 1959. xvii + 228 pp. 2100frs.

This book is the result of an international conference, held at Paris from 30 September to 3 October 1958, to celebrate the quattrocentenary of the death of the emperor Charles V. The career of 'the last emperor of the West', as Don Ramón Carade has called him in this book, is still exercising an immense fascination on historians for its problems of nationalism and internationalism, its conflicts of religious loyalties, its first discussions of the rights

and wrongs of colonialism, and for the problems it poses for the evaluation of spiritual and economic forces in historical development. The papers (in French and Spanish) and the discussions (in French) which followed the papers are all of an extraordinarily high standard, and they touch on all these questions. For English readers, perhaps the most interesting and original papers are those of Professor C. Verlinden, 'Crises économiques et sociales en Belgique à l'époque de Charles-Quint,' and of Professor F. Braudel, 'Les emprunts de Charles-Quint sur la place d'Anvers.' Professor Braudel gives figures and graphs for the debts contracted by Charles V in the Netherlands. These figures show that, despite the enormous increase in the contribution to imperial finances made by the Netherlands, especially towards the end of Charles's reign, he had to rely more and more on Castile and on the increasing imports of American treasure. This fact explains a great deal of the 'hispanicisation' of Charles V's empire. Professor Verlinden shows that, in Antwerp, prices and wages reached their greatest divergence in the decade of 1530 to 1540, that this divergence, except for short-term fluctuations, was never more than twenty-five per cent and that, by the 1550s, wages were rapidly catching up again with prices. If these figures are correct¹—and they seem better than any we have had so far—they must throw serious doubts on Professor E. J. Hamilton's and the late Lord Keynes's theory of a profit inflation going on for more than a century. They must also raise questions about Thorold Rogers's figures for England and about the theory of a decline in real wages of over sixty per cent, postulated recently by Professor Phelps Brown and Miss Sheila Hopkins in *Economica*, 1955–57.

University of Manchester

H. G. KOENIGSBERGER

Nicolas Audet, a Cypriot of French extraction, was prior-general of the Carmelite Order from 1523 until his death in December 1562. Though not a man of outstanding importance like another contemporary monastic reformer, the Augustinian Girolamo Seripando, Audet is a significant and venerable figure whom specialists have long wished to know more about and who well deserves the substantial and weightily documented biography which Father Adrian Staring, O. Carm., has consecrated to him, *DER KARMELITENGENERAL NIKOLAUS AUDET UND DIE KATHOLISCHE REFORM DES XVI. JAHRHUNDERTS* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum. 1959. xxxii + 492 pp.). We see the general, tireless in visitations until his old age, fighting a long uphill battle against the abuses common to almost all the orders of monks and friars at this period before the general monastic legislation of the Council of Trent in 1563—many of them encouraged by the venal and indiscriminate dispensations policy of the Roman tribunals exercised behind the backs of monastic superiors and despite papal bulls to the contrary. Conditions in the Reformed Mantuan Congregation of Carmelites, founded in the fifteenth century, which successfully contested Audet's visitatorial authority in a long legal process at Rome, seem at this time to have been little or no better than in the main part of the Order. Fr. Staring however claims that in those provinces which Protestantism had spared, Audet by his death had succeeded, generally speaking, in restoring a much better level and atmosphere of observance. In his final pages he has some interesting

¹ They have recently been published in full. C. Verlinden and J. Craeybeckx, *Documents pour l'Histoire des Prix et des Salaires en Flandre et en Brabant (XVe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Bruges, 1959.

things to say about the innovations, principally in regard to meditation and its relation to the choir offices, made in the Teresian reforms. These reforms, which were something more than a mere return to an earlier unmitigated rule, derive from the foundation at Avila of the Convent of St. Joseph in February 1562, made ten months before Audet's death, and apparently without his knowledge. The spiritual and jurisdictional problems arising out of the Teresian reform and the discalced movement were left for Audet's successors to face. But this book is full of interesting and significant things for the student of the early counter-reformation. Audet was a good theologian and his speeches at Trent on Justification and allied questions, veering to the Scotist outlook, are excellently analysed. His concern for the crumbling German provinces and his moving correspondence with the well-known German Carmelite Everhard Billick are also noteworthy.

Trinity College, Cambridge

H. O. EVENNETT

The expedition which was sent in 1582 to follow up Drake's successes in the Spice Islands dribbled away its resources on the coast of Brazil, and history has blamed the failure on its commander's inadequacies. The extensive new material edited by Professor E. G. R. Taylor in *THE TROUBLESOME VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN EDWARD FENTON, 1582-83* (C.U.P. for the Hakluyt Society. 1959. lviii + 333 pp. 35s.) will not cause this verdict to be reversed. It does, however, emphasize the great difficulties placed in the way of English voyagers by the success of the Portuguese in keeping navigational secrets. The slow build-up of information from Portuguese renegades and the experiences of English and Dutch seamen was only just beginning. The shortage of it, when navigation instruments were primitive and ships carried vast crews needing frequent provisioning, could be countered only by seamen possessing great skill, determination and luck. Fenton and his pilots showed no deficiency in the first of these requirements; in the last two they were fatally lacking.

University of Hull

RALPH DAVIS

COMMERCIAL CRISIS AND CHANGE IN ENGLAND, 1600-42. A STUDY IN THE INSTABILITY OF A MERCANTILE ECONOMY. By B. E. Supple. Cambridge University Press. 1959. xii + 296 pp. 42s.

The history of economic thought and policy and the pursuit of economic activity have too often been studied as though they bore no relation to each other. Carefully screened against mutual infection, books and learned articles have discussed the controversy about 'mercantilism' in a world antiseptically free from real people pursuing, with varying success, their economic ends; and their counterparts on the other side of this hygienic barrier have examined an economic world in which the intrusions of government are unexplained or inexplicable, probably futile and evidently witless. Dr. Supple's book is one of the few studies which sets out to link both worlds.

In Parts I and II he traces in detail the decaying fortunes of the export trade in the older types of woollen cloth; examines particularly the severe depression of the early 1620s, finding the main, immediate cause of this to be a series of currency manipulations in some of the principal European markets for English cloth; provides an interesting and illuminating commentary

upon the problems presented to contemporaries by the instability inherent in the bimetallic systems of the time; and indicates the changing pattern of English textile production and trade as the New Draperies made their mark. In Part III he analyses the views of that well-known and alliterative trio—Misselden, Malynes and Mun—in terms of the 'economics of crisis'; considers in more general terms the nature of contemporary government economic action; and, in stressing that 'policy and intermittent trade crisis are historically inseparable', leaves the commercial policy of early Stuart England as limited, pragmatic, even opportunist.

Dr. Supple's book is derived from a doctoral thesis presented in 1955. It shows some of the marks of its origin in its restricted view of some aspects of its subject. The theme of the book, though not necessarily the requirements of the thesis, seems to demand a more thoroughgoing examination of the ultimate European markets for English cloth than is presented here. The Venetian cloth trade, for example, is apparently expanding and hindering English exports on pp. 137-8 and contracting in face of English competition on pp. 159-60; the chronology is not made clear but reference to Mr. Sella's important article on this subject (in *Annales* 1957) would surely have made it so. Or again, the author's concern with crisis and decay seems sometimes to blot out the other side of the picture represented by the elements of stability and of growth: 'the economics of crisis' get 23 pages, 'the economics of diversification' only 3. The book may also seem to have suffered from the passage of time: working independently on some part of the same ground, Mr. J. D. Gould has already published similar findings in a series of articles, though Dr. Supple's book gains by presenting his conclusions in a more general context. It is not wholly free from rashes of wordiness, though the anonymous reviewer in *The Economist*, 23 April 1960, who found it 'overloaded with economic jargon' must have an enviable innocence of the real world of economic terminology.

Both for its approach and for its source materials, this book owes a great deal to the work of Professor Fisher, a debt which Dr. Supple rightly and amply acknowledges. Its judicious blend of economics and history and its analysis of practice and policy, combine to make it, despite minor imperfections, an important book alike for the student of Stuart England and for the hunter of that fascinating bug, 'mercantilism'.

London School of Economics

D. C. COLEMAN

GUILDFORD BOROUGH RECORDS, 1514-1546 (Surrey Record Society, vol. xxiv. 1958. xlvi + 153 pp. 35s.) partly calendars and partly transcribes the earliest extant records of the Gild Merchant, the Court Leet and the Three Weeks Court of this borough. Some of the material is formal but there is a good deal of economic interest in this volume, which is preceded by an admirable introduction by Dr. Enid M. Dance, its editor.

THE WALSINGHAM LETTER BOOK OR REGISTER OF IRELAND, MAY 1578 TO DECEMBER 1579 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1959. xix + 279 pp. 42s.), edited by James Hogan and N. M. O'Farrell, is the letter-book known as volume iv of the Carew Papers in the Public Record Office (London). Although many of the letters are calendared elsewhere, it remains a valuable collection on the problems of Irish administration during this critical period,

and includes also a vivid letter from Sir Humphrey Gilbert on the 'universal conspiracy' to use Ireland as a base for the destruction of England. It is a pity that the editors did not have more space for a critical introduction to these important documents.

Sir Charles Ogilvie's **THE KING'S GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMON LAW, 1471-1641** (Oxford: Blackwell. 1958. vii + 176 pp. 21s.) is an essay in interpretation, rather than a work of scholarship, on the conflicts between the prerogative and common law courts. In a vigorous, ably argued but one-sided case the author claims that the crown tried to safeguard the interests of the subject against 'the hoary but sinewy deformities of the English legal system' and in so doing brought upon itself defeat at the hands of the common lawyers at the end of this period.

Mlle E. Droz in **BARTHÉLEMY BERTON, 1563-1573** (Geneva: Droz. 1960. 137 pp. 28 Sw. fr.) and M. Louis Desgraves in **LES HAULTIN, 1571-1623** (Geneva: Droz. 1960. xxxviii + 168 pp. 40 Sw. fr.) have provided, as the first two volumes of a three-volume history of early printing in La Rochelle, scholarly bibliographies of two relatively obscure printing presses at that city during the period when it was the headquarters and bastion of the French Protestant cause. The interest of the bibliographies lies not in the list of books or enumeration of printing types but in the assembly of materials for the historian of political thought and Calvinism, especially in the development of each which was peculiar to La Rochelle.

A pleasantly composed biography, which contains material that is not easily available elsewhere in English is **MARY OF HUNGARY** by Jane de Jongh, translated by M. D. Herter Norton. (London: Faber. 1959. 304 pp. 30s.)

David Ogg's **EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY** (London: A. and C. Black. 1960. 571 pp. 28s.), which has had successive revisions, has now reached its eighth edition.

LATER MODERN

CRUSOE'S CAPTAIN, by Bryan Little (London: Odhams. 1960. 240 pp. 21s.), is a biography of the Bristol privateer Woodes Rogers, whose extremely successful voyage round the world between 1708 and 1711 occupies most of the book. Mr. Little supplements the two contemporary accounts of the voyage by some information on the Spanish side, but the most original part of the book is devoted to Rogers' experience as Governor of the Bahamas after the war was over. The voyage is important because of its influence on Anson's voyage thirty years later, and also because we know more about its financial aspect than any other voyage of the period by reason of the fact that its commander was a good business man as well as a strict disciplinarian, an unusual feature in a privateer. The weakness of the book is its lack of

historical perspective on account of its failure to compare this with the many other voyages to the South Seas made at that time. Nor is the bibliography complete, because it omits Rogers' original journal in the British Museum and the curious pamphlet attributed to Selkirk (though certainly not by him) in the Harleian Miscellany. As for Selkirk, there is nothing to warrant the old suggestion that Defoe met him on his return. *Robinson Crusoe* was not written for seven years after that event, a delay which may be accounted for if the novel was inspired by the appearance of the second edition of Rogers' book.

Royal Naval College, Greenwich

CHRISTOPHER LLOYD

KING AND COMMONS, 1660–1832. By Betty Kemp. London: Macmillan. 1957. vii + 168 pp. 16s.

In *King and Commons, 1660–1832*, Miss Kemp submits a great theme to fresh analysis, discussing a constitutional balance prepared 1689–1716, maintained 1716–83 and 'slowly undermined' 1784–1832. She insists upon two 'conventions' as 'the main superstructure of the eighteenth-century constitution'; but the first of these—the principle that the prerogative of dissolution should not be used to shorten seriously the septennial period of parliament—raises the question of the kind of evidence which scientifically establishes the existence of such a 'convention'. It has long been realized that both the king and the Commons had an interest in seeing that elections did not take place too often; that their critics fought for shorter parliaments, not longer ones; and that the Septennial Act served to strengthen the arm of government. Miss Kemp's evidence confirms the last of these points rather than showing that kings postponed an appeal to the electorate out of regard for a 'convention'. In 1780, Fox himself confessed: 'Even now parliaments had no certain time of duration, for that it was in the power of government to put an end to them, whenever it should be most for the purpose of government to do so.'

In 1784 Burke made the same complaint and, if Fox now carried his speculation further, it was to adduce Lord Somers and others who had held merely that the prerogative of dissolution should not be used while business was incomplete in the middle of a session. Fox confessed even now that he himself was not prepared to go 'that length'; and on that crucial occasion it is remarkable to what a degree the case against dissolution was made to depend on the claim that the urgency of the business forbade an interruption of the session. The great commotion which the issue provoked in 1784 was caused by the fact that Fox, knowing a dissolution to be likely before long, attempted, as he himself confessed, to 'render it impossible'—a policy which Professor Pares rightly described as 'constitutional impropriety'. And it must be remembered that even in December 1783 we find the enunciation of the significant point that a parliament cannot pass judgement on its own dissolution—'that question was to be determined by another house of Commons'. Miss Kemp shows skill in the development of her points, e.g. that the rarity of general elections 'gave the Commons an existence more regular than and clearly separated from that of the King's ministers'. Her book is valuable if we regard it as starting (rather than finishing) a reconsideration of the whole problem with which it deals.

Peterhouse, Cambridge

H. BUTTERFIELD

PRINCES AND PARLIAMENTS IN GERMANY FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By F. L. Carsten. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. x + 473 pp. 50s.

FROM JOSEPH II TO THE JACOBIN TRIALS. By Ernst Wangermann. Oxford University Press. 1959. x + 212 pp. 25s.

As Dr. Carsten points out, there was, when he began his researches, no general or adequate individual history of the German Estates and no comparative study of their growth and influence in the different principalities. Indeed, much of the documentary material upon which he has based his present study has not even been edited and published. In the circumstances the misconceptions which have in the past arisen about German constitutional development are perhaps not surprising.

His present study deals with the rôle of the Estates in Württemberg, Hesse (later Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt), Saxony, Bavaria and certain Rhenish duchies from the close of the middle ages to the end of the eighteenth century, but does not go over again the ground which he covered in his *Origins of Prussia*, published in 1954. The reader will, however, do well to bear in mind what is said in the last five chapters of this earlier work, for there is an interesting contrast between the experience of the Estates of the Hohenzollern dominions and of Bavaria on the one hand, and that of the Estates of Württemberg and Saxony on the other. It is true that the Wittelsbachs did not go as far as the Hohenzollerns and abolish the Bavarian Estates altogether, and that, under the impact of the French Revolution, the latter even enjoyed a brief new lease of life and authority between 1790 and 1796; but, from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, the representative institutions of Bavaria were in decline, and in the century and a half after the Thirty Years War they were virtually impotent against the absolute power of the Elector. In Württemberg, on the other hand, the Estates, for all their shortcomings and vicissitudes and despite their relatively late appearance on the scene in the middle of the fifteenth century, formed the heart of what was, by comparison with other German principalities, a constitutional monarchy. The treaty of Tübingen—the great charter of liberties and privileges which they extorted from Duke Ulrich in 1514—became, with subsequent instruments similarly circumscribing the ducal authority, the basis of a constitution which in the last years of its existence excited the admiration of Charles James Fox. Similarly in Saxony, a state which defied the facts of geography to remain constitutionally of a piece with the German territories of the south and west rather than those of the east, the history of the Estates is one of steady, albeit not spectacular development, culminating in the written constitution of 1831. It would, of course, be easy to exaggerate the contribution of these relatively fragile and often not very representative institutions to the growth of the modern concept of responsible government—a failing of which Dr. Carsten's study is commendably free. Yet it was, as he rightly points out, in those areas of Germany where the Estates were able to survive, even if they proved powerless to prevent, periods of absolute rule, that the liberal movement of the nineteenth century made the most headway.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Carsten will be able to extend the researches which he has so competently undertaken with this volume to the lesser political entities of Germany, including the ecclesiastical principalities whose constitutional development may reveal interesting divergencies from that of

the leading laystates. His preface at least holds out the promise of a companion volume on the Estates in the Habsburg territories.

In the meantime Dr. Wangermann has provided a valuable account of the conflicts both within the Estates and between the Fourth Estate and the imperial authority in the Habsburg dominions between 1789 and the notorious 'Jacobin' trials of 1794. Here again the author, drawing extensively upon such confidential police and administrative reports as have been preserved in the Austrian imperial and provincial archives, covers much new ground. He reveals the great gulf which existed between the political and constitutional aspirations of the Fourth Estate and the reforms of Joseph II, and shows the extent to which his successor, Leopold II, sought to use those aspirations to strengthen his own position against the privileged orders on the one hand and against the spread of revolutionary ideas of French origin on the other. He also shows how easily and how precipitately the whole concept of enlightened despotism collapsed with the accession of Francis II, and he makes it clear that the so-called 'Jacobin conspiracy' was little more than an attempt to resist the process of putting back the clock. Particularly interesting is his account of events in the Duchy of Styria, which produced the most resourceful of the Fourth Estate leaders (such as Franz Xaver Neupauer of the University of Graz) and whose burghers secured tangible concessions from Leopold II in the form of increased representation in the Diet.

It is a pity that Dr. Wangermann has to mar his otherwise admirable text with ungainly adjectives like 'Josephinian' and 'Leopoldine' and by a lack of consistency which allows him to refer to the secretary of the Knittelfeld magistrates as 'Georg Dirnböck' on p. 19, 'George Franz Dirnböck' on p. 74 and 'Franz Georg Dirnböck' in the Index. Moreover, if he must translate *Obersthofmeister* (of which the nearest English equivalent is perhaps 'Lord Steward') as 'Earl Marshal' he should at least spell the latter form correctly.

C. J. CHILD

MERCHANTS AND PLANTERS. By Richard Pares. Economic History Review Supplement 4. Published for the Economic History Society by Cambridge University Press. 1960. 91 pp. 8s. to members, 10s. 6d. to non-members.

In the months before he died in May 1958, Richard Pares, with his sister's devoted help, was preparing for publication a monograph based on his Chichele Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1957. This important monograph—his last work—contains four chapters, discussing the founders of colonies, the development of plantations and of the colonial trade, and finally, the relations of debtors and creditors in this trade. In a valuable appendix, some founders' contracts have been printed, and the notes, like the text, are rich in information and observation. Professor Pares set out to suggest answers to some of the most fundamental questions in colonial economic history. In his own words, 'Who was the investor? Why did he invest? With what purposes, and on what terms, did he associate himself with the colonist—or, if he was himself the colonist, how and why did he transfer his capital from the old land to the new? What did he expect to get out of it, and what did he get out of it in fact?' Later, he enquires why the development of the plantations followed the characteristic course of increasing concentration both of crop and of ownership, and why the colonial trade was organized

under different forms in the French and English colonies. In the masterly analysis of his fourth chapter, he turns to ask: 'What was the wealth of a planter and to whom did it belong? What was his real income?', and, at the very end, 'how could the factors afford to lend the planters such enormous sums? Where did the money come from?' The last words of this chapter sum up his answer: 'The wealth of the British West Indies did not all proceed from the mother country; after some initial loans in the earliest period which merely primed the pump, the wealth of the West Indies was created out of the profits of the West Indies themselves, and, with some assistance from the British tax-payer, much of it found a permanent home in Great Britain.' The discussion is not, however, confined to the experience of the British West Indies alone, but includes the British tobacco colonies, and the French West Indian colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By this comparative method, Pares illuminates the common experience, and distinguishes it more clearly from what was peculiar to a particular group or period. This work, distilling the learning of a great historian, embodies his immense range and acumen, and makes a fitting conclusion to his life of dedicated scholarship.

University College of the West Indies

ELSA V. GOVEIA

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE, volume ii, JULY 1768–JUNE 1774. Edited by Lucy S. Sutherland. Cambridge University Press. 1960.
xxiii + 567 pp. 9os.

Of the 250 letters to and from Edmund Burke assembled together for the first time in this volume, 110 have not previously been printed, and the remaining 140 have been accessible in print only in a number of different published collections. The primary interest of the correspondence is political. Throughout the period Burke was deeply involved in politics as a member of the Rockingham party, and during the latter part of it was also engaged, on a completely different plane of political activity, as agent for the colonial assembly of New York. The inclusion of over thirty letters from Rockingham presents the other side of Burke's correspondence with his leader, almost entirely omitted from the 1844 edition by Lord Fitzwilliam and Sir Richard Bourke; and among other letters concerning party politics are a few hitherto unpublished exchanges between Burke and William Dowdeswell, the spokesman of the party in the Commons. Each summer and autumn Rockingham and his associates, recuperating on their country estates, in preparation for the next parliamentary session, would exchange ideas and define their attitudes towards impending circumstances: Wilkes and the Middlesex election; metropolitan radicalism; the possible disintegration of the administration; the renewal of the East India Company's charter; the threat of an Irish tax on absentee landowners; and the first repercussions of the Boston Tea Party. The important but subordinate nature of Burke's rôle in the party is evident throughout this side of the correspondence.

However much Burke allowed himself to be absorbed in politics, other interests were not entirely submerged, and various other sides of his life are also reflected in this volume. His keen interest in farming—he was quite a successful farmer—appears in his letters to Arthur Young and to his cousin, Garrett Nagle, who looked after his small estate in County Cork. His personal family relationships are revealed in a delightful group of letters between

himself, his wife, and his son, during a visit to France in 1773, when he established Richard in a household at Auxerre to learn the language before going up to Oxford. There are various references to the financial mismanagements and misfortunes of his brother and 'cousin', which caused him much indirect embarrassment; and Miss Sutherland has added an interesting appendix on the purchase of his Buckinghamshire estate of Gregories. Letters to and from Garrick, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, and Mrs. Montagu reflect his continuing literary and cultural contacts.

A fine wealth of scholarship has gone into the annotations, and the editing fully maintains the high standard set in the first volume of the series by the general editor, Professor T. W. Copeland.

University College, London

IAN R. CHRISTIE

It seems to be difficult to take Burke calmly. In Great Britain he is loathed by the Namier school with a deep and personal hatred as the man who by his distortions for a century and a half prevented the true structure of politics from being revealed. In America he is now being beatified to provide a respectable ancestry for a neo-conservatism which otherwise might be too blatantly revealed as the mere defence of narrow vested interests. He has been denounced, and even more mistakenly applauded, as the enemy of reason in politics. He has been criticized as though his political pamphlets and speeches were intended as nothing more than history and bad history at that, and praised as though he were a disembodied intelligence reflecting in a timeless void on the moral and political nature of man, uninfluenced by contemporaries and circumstances. All this is worth saying because it enables us to welcome *THE POLITICAL REASON OF EDMUND BURKE* (Duke University Press: C.U.P. 1960. xvi + 222 pp. 40s.) by Francis P. Canavan, S.J., as a study which escapes these traps. Its particular positive contribution is to place Burke's thought, perhaps more firmly than ever before, in the Aristotelian tradition of Natural Law, and to exhibit one source which could have influenced his mind in this direction in the form of the textbooks he would have used at Trinity College Dublin. There can be no doubt that Burke can be better understood by relating his thought, as Dr. Canavan does, to its sources than by attempting to interpret it in the light of its supposed historicist sequel. One result of this study is to place Burke firmly in the main current of eighteenth-century thought. His political theory derives from that of Locke and his moral theory echoes that of Adam Smith. It is curious that Dr. Canavan does not draw attention also to the affiliations between Burke and Montesquieu. It is true, this would take Burke a little closer to the Enlightenment and a little farther from 'medieval Christian Aristotelianism'; but it would not undermine the main thesis of what is a good and illuminating contribution to the understanding of his ideas.

University College, London

A. COBBAN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN THE AGE OF REFORM, 1784-1837. By A. S. Turberville (edited by R. J. White). London: Faber. 1958. 519 pp. 50s.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICS, 1911-1957. By P. A. Bromhead. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. xiii + 283 pp. 30s.

It is one of the remarkable feats of the British talent for constitutional

adaptation that the House of Lords, so badly mauled in the passing of the Great Reform Bill and so severely attacked once more in 1911, should still be an accepted and functioning part of the British Constitution. These two books, read together, not only describe these two great crises in its development, but suggest also certain reasons for its resilience and durability.

No historian has contributed more fully to our knowledge and historical understanding of the House of Lords than the late Professor A. S. Turberville. The present volume, designed as the completion of the trilogy (*The House of Lords in the Reign of William III* appeared as long ago as 1913, and *The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century* in 1927), should have carried the story to 1911 where Mr. Bromhead's analysis begins. The author had carried it to little farther than 1837 before he died. Fortunately he had written a splendid account of the storms of 1832 as they affected the Lords and had explored beyond into the calms of Victoria's early years. Mr. R. J. White has done great service by his sympathetic and careful editing and re-arrangement of the unfinished manuscripts. The result is a worthy, though inevitably truncated, completion of the whole fascinating story down to the mid-nineteenth century. It remains for another pen (and whose better than Mr. White's?) to bridge, one day, the gap of the later nineteenth century.

Mr. Bromhead's analytical examination of the functioning of the upper House during the present century raises, however, the basic issue whether 'development' is the right word to use of the history of the Lords. Expansion in size has been accompanied by shrinkage in both power and functions. Is its survival due really to some inherent strength, or only to a certain inertia? As a judicial and as a constitutional organ it is so firmly built into the system of constitutional monarchy that the tasks of replacing it by something more rational have repeatedly proved sufficiently formidable, complex and controversial to deter radical reformers from undertaking so thankless a labour. Even its friends have shied away from improving it. After 1832, as Professor Turberville noted, 'what had appeared to be the black and final tragedy of the House of Lords was not long after discovered to be but a prelude to a period of light-hearted, pugnacious, and soul-satisfying adventure'. Its pugnacity enabled it, in mid-Victorian conditions, to go on resisting or modifying many reforms of the subsequent 'age of reform'—a record that lost it much power in 1911 and a little more in 1949. Mr. Bromhead's attempts to justify its political and legislative functions remain unpersuasive, as must any effort to present it as a utilitarian institution. It survives because it is there—and because it has had the long and deteriorating history described in the books of Professor Turberville. Its basis is Burkian and can never be Benthamite.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge

DAVID THOMSON

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE NAVY, 1793–1815. By Michael Lewis. London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 467 pp. 42s.

Professor Lewis's latest contribution to the history of the navy is an important study of the profession during the wars which mark the high tide of its greatness. The 'social history' of the navy comprises the study of the social and geographical origins of officers and men; recruiting and officer-entry; the conditions and prospects of the profession; and the cost of maritime supremacy in ships and lives. The task has been completed with a thoroughness which

will satisfy the specialist, and a humanity and lightness which will charm the general historian. Is it a subject of general importance? The size of the navy makes it so. The officers must have been one of the largest professional bodies in the country, and not the worst qualified. For the ordinary man it must have been one of the largest sources of employment outside agriculture. 600,000 seamen passed through the navy during the wars. How this vast body of officers and men was found, how they were employed and promoted, how they lived and were administered, and how they died, involves a great deal more than the strictly naval side of eighteenth-century social history. Mr. Lewis's description of the operation of influence and connection must be one of the best working models of the subject which exist.

The navy is a good field for this kind of study. Records and statistics of a kind were kept (and are treated here with proper caution); many memoirs and biographies were written; and for the officers there are the biographical dictionaries of Marshall (1825) and O'Byrne (1849). These included only the living, but they provide enough to establish the pattern. From their pages Mr. Lewis has deduced the social origins of some 1700 officers.

For the student of warfare in general, the most interesting chapter may be the final one which analyses the losses. Perhaps 100,000 British seamen lost their lives during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Of these eighty per cent died by disease or personal accident; about 13,000 in wrecks; and only some 6600 by enemy action. Rupture was the great occupational illness; and 30,000 trusses were issued by the Admiralty to keep the victims at work. The comparison of British with enemy casualties is striking. The author estimates that, in the six major actions, there were about 5750 British killed and wounded, and over 16,000 enemy. The disproportion was due in part to superior British gunnery and to wholesale enemy losses by explosion and foundering after the battle; but probably most of all to the French custom of firing on the upward roll of the ship to injure masts and rigging instead of into the hull.

Mr. Lewis has collated his information with care and used it with judgement. But his book has another virtue not always found in statistical studies: he knows his people. From his long study of the navy he knows where to find individuals to illustrate his points, and his analysis is illuminated by anecdotes and examples which bring his statements to life. The type of analytical enquiry he has made is often attempted as the first research project of beginners. Mr. Lewis has shown why it is often better reserved for maturity.

Pembroke College, Oxford

PIERS MACKESY

L'ÉCONOMIE BRITANNIQUE ET LE BLOCUS CONTINENTAL (1806-1813).

By François Crouzet. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1958. 2 vols. 949 pp.
3500 fr.

The history of the British economy during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars has yet to be written. Although much information is now available on particular industries, and on subjects like finance or the standard of living, it remains true that the period 1793-1815 is dealt with at best sketchily in the textbooks of economic history, at worst not at all, and that there is no systematic study of the period as a whole, with the notable exception of Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz: *The Growth and Fluctuations of the British Economy 1790-1850*. A contribution to the study of the period, particularly one

on the scale of the work under review, is most welcome. But while this is an important work it must be admitted at once that it is also a somewhat disappointing one. In nearly a thousand pages one might reasonably expect to be offered a thorough and comprehensive study of the economy in all its branches during the seven years under study. This, however, is not the author's intention, and it is not what we get.

Briefly, the author's concern is with the problems of the effectiveness, potential and actual, and the effects of the Continental System. This means that the interest is in the first place in the economic policies of governments, French, British and American, and he wisely recognizes that there is little fresh to say on the subjects of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, the Orders in Council, and the Non-Importation and Embargo Acts. In the second place, in tracing the effects of these policies, the interest is in the actual course of British overseas trade. The internal development of the economy comes a lame third, treated from the point of view of industries with important export markets.

The chief interest of the book, and its main bulk, lies in its treatment of British trade. Here all available trade statistics are pressed into service to present a highly detailed analysis, product by product, market by market, and month by month, of the volumes (official values) of exports and imports. These bare bones are given some life by literary evidence from parliamentary and public record sources, and from several collections of business records, most notably those of the cotton-spinning firm of MacConnel and Kennedy, now at Manchester University.

These figures illuminate in great detail the already broadly familiar course of trade under the Blockade, as merchants met the closure of normal channels by seeking new outlets and roundabout routes; one sees in concrete terms the suddenly flourishing trade, the congestion of shipping and overcrowding of goods, at Heligoland, Gothenberg, Gibraltar, Malta and Salonika. As far as trade with continental Europe goes, the most revealing passages are those which show the relative effectiveness of the Blockade in curtailing British exports during the two periods of its vigorous enforcement, the year after Tilsit, and the two and a half years before the invasion of Russia. Anglo-Dutch trade was effectively stifled in 1808, smuggling and all, by King Louis acting under his brother's goadings, thus disproving Professor Hecksher's statement that until the annexation of Holland in July 1810 there had been 'no interruption of the trade between the two countries which had been going on throughout the reign of King Louis' (*The Continental System*, pp. 241-3). Of greater importance is Crouzet's demonstration that British goods were effectively excluded from Spain, as well as Portugal, in the six months before the Napoleonic invasion, and that merchants in Gibraltar were smarting under the measures taken to impede smuggling from thence. The desire to enforce the System in Spain must therefore disappear as one of the motives for the invasion in 1808; and Crouzet is on strong ground in maintaining that from the point of view of the System this was an external act, a major cause of its failure and one of Napoleon's capital errors. Though he is no doubt correct in regarding the invasion of Russia as Napoleon's second major mistake, he does not substantiate his assertion that this also was an act unconnected with the internal necessities of the System.

Full account is taken of the vital importance of trade with the U.S.A.,

which was the largest single market for British goods, not even excepting Germany. Hence the importance of the commercial policies of the U.S. government, which seriously curtailed this traffic in 1808 and all but extinguished it in 1811. There is a valuable discussion of the connection between the industrial and commercial interests with a heavy stake in the American market, and of the campaign for the repeal of the offending Orders in Council, which succeeded too late to prevent the war of 1812. But in order to maintain that the System could, in principle, have achieved its object, Crouzet is driven beyond the evidence to claim that it lay in Napoleon's power to engineer a simultaneous closure of the U.S. and continental markets.

The British commercial penetration of South America, abortive in 1806, effective after 1808, is a well-known development. So also is the contribution of the resulting highly speculative and unremunerative trade to the origins of the financial and commercial crisis of 1810 and the depression of 1811–12. The significance of the character of this trade is revealed not in the familiar anecdote of the skates at Rio de Janeiro, nor in the less familiar incident of the shipment to Rio of 'sufficient mathematical instruments to supply the needs of the most enlightened nation in Europe for decades', but in the headlong rush to dump on Latin America the swollen stocks of goods which had remained unsold in 1808 because of the effective closure of European markets. In such a process the South American markets were quickly saturated, importers sold off their wares at cut rates, and further shipments were drastically curtailed. Further, such tardy returns as were obtained on the first exports to South America came largely in the shape of colonial goods, which reached Britain in 1810, in competition with similar imports from the West Indies, and caused a glut, because by this time the continental ports were once more closed against their re-export.

These factors contributed to the crisis of 1810, and in his detailed examination of the origins of the crisis Crouzet acknowledges their place in what he rightly emphasizes was a complex situation. Other causal elements were the renewed zeal in the application of the System from the spring of 1810, internal monetary conditions, and the sudden fall in the prices of imported raw materials, especially Baltic ones, due to over-importation in the previous year. It is therefore inconsistent to claim in the general conclusions that the System alone brought about the 1810 crisis.

Labour unrest and rioting in Lancashire in 1808 and in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire in 1811–12 is described in some detail from Home Office records, and is shown to have been caused basically by depression, unemployment, and high food prices, and not to have been influenced by the introduction of new machinery except in the case of shearing machines in the West Riding. The general picture here does not differ from that given by Darvall: *Popular disturbances and public order in Regency England*.

The conclusion that the whole System with its intermittent enforcement was in effect a fight by one man, Napoleon, both against Britain and against the venality and treachery of his own subordinates, casts an interesting light on the power of that man. The conclusion of most interest to economic historians will be the demonstration that variations in the volume of manufactured exports, above all of textiles, were the chief source of economic fluctuations; that these variations derived mainly from changes in external

demand; and that external demand was determined mainly by political and military events. In this Crouzet follows, confirms, and amplifies the work of Gayer, Rostow and Schwartz, adding a detailed determination of turning-points in terms of export-trade activity. He has a deep and extensive knowledge of the sources of economic history in this period. One hopes that he will one day employ this knowledge to write a history of the economy during the Wars, embrace the wider views which he here so fastidiously eschews, and perhaps escape the prolixity and lack of literary quality which seem the unavoidable marks of a French doctoral thesis.

University College, London

F. M. L. THOMPSON

CHURCH AND PARLIAMENT: THE RESHAPING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

1828-1860. By Olive J. Brose. Stanford University Press: O.U.P. 1959.

x + 239 pp. 27s. 6d.

This book is in one way a commentary on J. B. Brebner's observation that of all the interventions of government in the 1820s, 30s and 40s, 'perhaps the most surprising' was that in the property and privileges of the Established Church. It gives a lucid account of the steps which led to the setting up in 1836 of a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission for England and Wales. Church lands were saved from that appropriation of their 'surplus' to secular uses which dissenters, radicals, and some eminent Whigs demanded, for redistribution in the hopes (at least on the part of ecclesiastics and Conservative statesmen) that thereby the Church could continue as the educator of the nation, instead of being superseded by the State. Miss Brose puts the Irish Temporalities Act in proportion, as against the exaggerated fears of Tractarians. Quite properly she draws attention to the likenesses between this reform and others made in the same period, such as the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834; conceived in administrative terms, involving centralization, and conformable to suggestions found in Bentham. The Ecclesiastical Commission involved what the nonconformist Edward Baines denounced as 'improperly delegating the rightful authority of Parliament'; worse even, he thought, than a revival of the Convocations. Dr. Brose sufficiently demonstrates that so far from the Commission being thrust on the Church by an overbearing secular power, it was born of co-operation between Church and State, in the persons of Sir Robert Peel and Blomfield, Bishop of London, both these men being, as this book shows, genuinely devoted to the Church as distinct from its mere Establishment. Perhaps it is worth observing that the reshaping of the Church was not by any means finished by 1860, as the history of its diocesan reorganization indicates. Perhaps too, Brebner's interest in Benthamism has led Miss Brose to see philosophic utilitarianism as a force where there is only a practical concern (like Blomfield's) for usefulness. 'The Tory defence', she writes, 'appropriated all the Benthamite passion for efficient administration.' Was there not a distinct 'Tory', if that epithet may be rightly used, concern for administrative improvement going back, at least, to the younger Pitt, which was not necessarily Benthamite by inspiration, even among men who knew Bentham? In an unfortunate phrase Dr. Brose seems to suggest that Blomfield and other Church reformers shared 'the common program of the time to make the lower orders over in the image of their betters': not a bad programme, anyhow, but certainly not, as Blomfield would have been quite clear, sufficient as Christian policy. In spite of what

Dr. Brose says, Convocation 'in its modern form' remains purely clerical. The bibliography makes no proper distinction of primary and secondary, or of contemporary and later, materials. T. S. Eliot's *The Rock* and W. L. Sperry's *Religion in America* hardly seem in place there. There is a useful select list of acts of parliament bearing on the Church Establishment. This is an interesting book, which is well furnished with illuminating contemporary quotation, and which advances its subject.

Bedford College, London

R. W. GREAVES

WILLIAM EWART, M.P., 1798-1869. By W. A. Munford. London: Grafton. 1960. xv + 208 pp. 25s.

This is a welcome addition to the list of biographies of nineteenth-century radicals. Ewart was not a prominent or popular radical, and the present study confirms Teignmouth's estimate of him in 1838—when his defeat in radical Marylebone let in its only Conservative member before the 1870s—as 'endowed with many valuable qualifications' but 'a dry and unpopular speaker'. The pattern of his politics, it seems to me, illustrates the difficulty of defining radicalism by reference to a definite programme: for him, as for others, the common denominator between radicals was not of prime importance.

Ewart shared the general radical view of the insufficiency of the Reform Act, voting for Grote in 1839 and for Sharman Crawford in 1842. He did not, however, vote for the Chartist either in 1839 or in 1842. He favoured free trade, especially the abolition of the colonial sugar preference, was a useful member of the 1840 Import Duties Committee and consistently voted for Villiers' motions. Yet during the tariff debates of 1846 he made only two short speeches, on foreign books and on wine. He sided with Hume in support of the 1834 Poor Law, but voted for the Factory Bills of 1846 and 1847, though not for Ashley's first Ten Hour amendment of 1844. His real interest lay, clearly and increasingly, less in these common radical causes than in his own hobby-horses: abolition of capital punishment, education, free public libraries, the opening of museums to the public, international peace. In riding them he was, as Mr. Munford shows, prominent and persistent, and he had considerable success: criminal law reforms in the 1830s, the Museums Act of 1845, the Public Libraries Act of 1850.

A few points in the historical background of the book require revision—for example, the discussion of the tariff controversies of 1842-6 and the chronology of the repeal of the Corn Laws on pp. 114-15.

St. Hugh's College, Oxford

BETTY KEMP

What cholera did for the cause of public health in nineteenth-century Britain, Chartism did for public order. As Mr. F. C. Mather shows in his PUBLIC ORDER IN THE AGE OF THE CHARTISTS (Manchester University Press, 1959. ix + 260 pp. 32s. 6d.), epidemic disaffection touched deeper levels of anxiety than the endemic unrest of the countryside, showing up inescapably the deficiencies of police arrangements which reformers had arraigned for years, and pushing alarmed authorities nearer to the point of decision and action. This book looks at Chartism as a problem of police, and assesses the effectiveness of the machinery which existed to control and suppress the disturbances generated by widespread popular agitation. The

Home Secretary made use of one important channel of intelligence that Mr. Mather overlooks: the score of assistant poor law commissioners who were in the field during the Chartist years. But, minor criticisms apart, this is a valuable essay in administrative history, judiciously written and solidly based on the Home Office papers.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

R. A. LEWIS

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION, 1780-1870. By Brian Simon.

London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1960. 375 pp. 37s. 6d.

The founder of the Fabian Society, Thomas Davidson, once urged that the history of education should be based upon the results of 'carefully digested science'. He added 'you must correct Karl Marx by Isaiah and vice versa. If you do this loyally and persistently, the meaning of life will gradually break in upon you and you will find yourself filled with a hope, and animated by a courageous purpose which will make earth a heaven to you.' Subsequent historians of education have shrunk from this appeal. Mr. Simon has not. From the scientific societies cradled and suckled in the emergent industrial society of eighteenth-century England, he moves confidently to plot the many working-class groups that experimented with the communitarian ideas of Owen. Amongst so many figures presented in such a logical and orderly manner for us, one is missing: John Minter Morgan. He might have been worth a footnote if only as one of the earliest advocates of departments of education in universities. But the general synthesis of work by historians of science and society is so carefully done that captious criticism is foregone. There is ample bibliographical warrant for the story, and if, here and there, Isaiah comes off second best, it makes for stimulating reading. This weaving of rich and intermittent group-pressures into the thread of the narrative should go far to dispel the notion that educational history is dull. Not the least of the virtues of this book are some fine illustrations and caricatures. No one reading it could fail to see that complex reagents were at work in nineteenth-century England, even if they disagree that the working was as effective as he describes.

University of Sheffield

W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

THE RELIGIOUS PROBLEM IN ENGLISH EDUCATION. THE CRUCIAL EXPERIMENT. By James Murphy. Liverpool University Press. 1959. 287 pp. 35s.

This book derives much of its interest from being the offspring of what are often regarded as mutually incompatible concerns. The author has strong Roman Catholic sympathies, but, as a university lecturer in education, he deplores the tragic delay, due to religious differences, in establishing a state-financed system of education in this country. Like the offspring of many mixed marriages, his thesis is clear-sighted, ironically detached and a little sad.

Here we behold the first beneficent rays of the liberal experiment. The Liverpool town councillors, inspired by new enlightened concepts of citizenship, believed in a secular system of education in which universally accepted knowledge was imparted, but in which specific provision could also be made to satisfy the religious needs of all the different denominations. Before the Tory reaction in 1841 led to the abandonment of the experiment and the return to church control, liberal reformers from afar like Samuel Wilderspin,

the educationalist, C. E. Trevelyan and Daniel O'Connell, came to marvel at these two corporation schools. The clergy of rival creeds might still attempt to stir up sectarian hate, but here could be seen Roman Catholic and Protestant infants, indulging in nothing more violent than innocent games of tug-of-war, the corporation teachers intervening only to assist the weaker side. What especially pleases Mr. Murphy is that, apart from the cantankerous John MacHale, the future archbishop of Tuam, painfully lacking in 'catholic liberality', the majority of recently emancipated Roman Catholics accepted the new religious arrangements which were borrowed from the system established by the Whigs, with Catholic support, in 1831 in Ireland. It was, he is delighted to find, the uncompromising intransigence displayed by a minority of Anglicans, led by the redoubtable Hugh M'Neile, 'the O'Connell of Protestantism', which provided the effective opposition to this 'mixed education'.

Deeply interested in his subject, Mr. Murphy has assiduously collected every relevant opinion for or against the two corporation schools. Not only do the issues he raises give his subjects more than a parochial interest, but he claims that the experiment and the reaction to it formed a background to the decisions, which can only thus be correctly interpreted, of Lord John Russell and his friends, when in 1839 they set up the Committee in Council with the future Sir James Kay Shuttleworth as its secretary. It is just because he recalls with such scholarly thoroughness and clarity of purpose a story which many Roman Catholics, many Anglicans and some liberals would, though for different reasons, like to forget that Mr. Murphy has produced a piece of research of such value and interest.

University College, Swansea

NEVILLE MASTERMAN

In his **HISTORY OF LABOUR IN SHEFFIELD** (Liverpool University Press. 1959. xix + 373 pp. 35s.) Dr. Sidney Pollard has at the same time made a notable contribution to local studies and helped to rescue labour history from its too narrow association with trade unionism. He pays as much attention to homes and the ways of spending money as to places of work and the means of earning it. The setting is a particularly interesting one: a town where rate of growth was greatest *after* 1850 and an economy which included both small workshop trades—a remarkable array of cutlery, toolmaking and allied crafts which Dr. Pollard describes with considerable deftness—and the heavy steel and engineering industries which became important from the 1860s. All the disadvantages associated with workshop production and the 'small mester' system are well brought out and the reader is given a good idea of the background to the numerous cases of rattening which was to become the focus of national anti-union feeling after the Hereford Street Outrage of 1866. There is an abundance of detail about wages and hours of work and the author has even been so bold as to compile an index of money and real earnings from 1851. Living standards were usually higher in Sheffield than elsewhere, though population pressure seems to have caused some deterioration in housing and sanitary conditions in the middle of the nineteenth century. Sanitary improvement was an unusually slow process; it was not until the 1890s that the disease-spreading privy middens and ash pits began to be replaced by house sewerage and water closets and the conversion was not completed until the later 1920s. The reader may wonder why the working

men of Sheffield, who formed the majority of the electorate from 1869, did not cause their council to move faster. Was this due to lack of leadership? Or to general ignorance of how disease spread? The author could have delved farther into local government and medical history. But we must not be too greedy. As it is, this is an important contribution to social history and deserves to be widely read.

London School of Economics

T. C. BARKER

ESSAYS IN LABOUR HISTORY IN MEMORY OF G. D. H. COLE. Edited by Asa Briggs and John Saville. London: Macmillan, 1960. vii + 364 pp. 42s. This collection of nine substantial essays was originally intended as a salute to G. D. H. Cole on his seventieth birthday, but his death some months before the anniversary has caused it to become a memorial volume instead. Its value as such is enhanced by the inclusion of four brief personal recollections of Cole at different stages of his career. That by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, who was one of his students more than thirty years ago, is particularly attractive.

The essays which form the main part of the volume have a unity of theme which is often lacking in volumes of a similar character. All are concerned with aspects of working-class history (mainly in England) in the nineteenth century and together they touch on a wide range of topics, including socialist ideas, political organizations (the First International and the I.L.P.), the working-class press (as represented by the *Bee-Hive*), co-operation, and the opposition to trade unionism at the end of the century. All the essays are careful, scholarly and readable but, as so often in occasional miscellanies, they vary greatly in importance. One conclusion which the book as a whole seems unintentionally to support is that many fields of nineteenth-century labour history (especially those concerned with labour politics) have been so thoroughly and successfully cultivated, above all by Cole himself, that further effort in them yields very small returns. A local approach may sometimes lead to helpful new insights, as Mr. E. P. Thompson shows here in his sketch of the Bradford background to the foundation of the I.L.P. But several essays in this volume are either going over again, with a little extra evidence, themes which are already familiar and substantiated beyond reasonable doubt or else are presenting the obscure details of persons, organizations and events which made little difference to the course of history.

But it is also clear that other branches of labour history are still well worth pursuing as vigorously as possible. The most stimulating and suggestive essay in the book is Dr. Hobsbawm's on 'Custom, Wages and Workload in Nineteenth-century Industry', but it is very short of supporting evidence. As the author admits, he is really indicating lines for further enquiry rather than presenting firm conclusions. Illuminating also is Professor Briggs' study of the changing outlook on social class in the early nineteenth century. Such departures from the orthodox paths of labour historiography bring us nearer to the everyday concerns of workers as workers, and only by moving in this direction does it now seem possible to add depth to the subject. To accomplish this would be the best of all memorials to G. D. H. Cole's immense achievement as a historian of labour.

University of Bristol

W. ASHWORTH

THE FALL OF PARNELL, 1890-91. By F. S. L. Lyons. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. 363 pp. 42s.

Charles Stewart Parnell, a Protestant, no orator, aloof in manner, a land-owner, and something of an aristocrat, was seemingly but ill-qualified to lead an Irish parliamentary party which, when he entered parliament, was split and divided into a left wing in sympathy with fenianism and favouring the employment of violence to achieve political objectives, and a right wing which pinned its faith in the method of constitutionalism to secure home rule. And yet, in spite of these disadvantages, he succeeded in becoming not only the leader of the party but in asserting such a dominance over it as also to become its master. In 1889 the political tide was running strongly in favour of home rule for Ireland. Not only was Parnell at the height of his popularity at home, not only did he have a united party under his command, but he had the ear and possessed the confidence of the Liberal party in parliament as well; while in England opinion in favour of the Irish party's programme, already strong, was growing stronger. At the time, it appeared to be a foregone conclusion that the next election would return to power an administration pledged to introduce and carry a measure granting self-government to Ireland.

That these high hopes were soon to be disappointed is of course to be attributed to outraged moral feelings. The public exposure in the divorce court of Parnell's adulterous relations with Mrs. O'Shea caused a veritable hurricane which left in its trail a disunited Irish party, a Liberal party too shocked and scandalized to cooperate with that party so long as Parnell remained its leader, and an Irish priesthood which felt bound to denounce a man who had offended against the teaching of the Church about the sanctity of Christian marriage. Yet there were those who, in spite of this, thought that all might not be lost, and Parnell was advised, by men anxious to repair the damage done to the cause of Irish freedom, to withdraw temporarily from public life so that the 'dust might settle'. The advice was not taken, and ignoring Cecil Rhodes' remedy for the crisis—'withdraw, marry, return'—the Irish leader chose to face and defy his critics. In order to divert attention from the scandal of his private life he sought to cast doubt upon the honesty of the Liberal party's Irish policy, and hinted that Mr. Gladstone's zeal for home rule for Ireland might not be genuine. His master move was to ask the Liberals for guarantees about a Home Rule Bill, promising to resign if these were given. This was clearly done with the intention of posing before the Irish people as the champion of the independence of the Irish party, which he was able to do when Gladstone not unnaturally rejected an offer to which unacceptable conditions were attached; no responsible leader of a party was likely to restrict his freedom of action in dealing with a problem, by consenting to have his hands thus tied beforehand. These clever tactics are not much admired by Dr. Lyons who feels that since 1886 the only hope of securing home rule for Ireland had lain in cooperation between the Irish party and the Liberals.

The story of the tragedy which befell Parnell is, of course, well known, but seldom can it have been told either so well or so entertainingly as in this book. No one can tell why he refused to resign the leadership of his party and why he chose to throw away the prize which seemed to be almost within its grasp, but this much is clear that never has the evidence bearing upon this crisis

in the affairs of that party been sifted more thoroughly and in a more scholarly way than by Dr. Lyons.

University College of North Wales, Bangor

J. A. THOMAS

ETHIOPIA. By Jean Doresse. London: Elek Books. 1959. 239 pp. 90 plates.
35s.

THE ETHIOPIANS. By Edward Ullendorff. London: Oxford University Press.
1960. xvi + 232 pp. 30s.

PORTUGUESE AFRICA. By James Duffy. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press; London: O.U.P. 1959. xii + 389 pp. 38s.

FORT JESUS AND THE PORTUGUESE IN MOMBASA, 1593-1729. By C. R.
Boxer and Carlos de Azevedo. London: Hollis and Carter. 1960. 144 pp.
25 plates. 21s.

DEUTSCHLAND-ZANZIBAR-OSTAFRIKA. By Fritz Ferdinand Müller. Berlin:
Rutten and Loening. 1959. 583 pp. DM. 19.80.

M. Doresse's book *Ethiopia* is a translation of his *Au Pays de la Reine de Saba, l'Ethiopie Antique et Moderne*, published in France in 1956. It is a very brief but thoroughly competent, popular introduction to the history of Ethiopia, with profuse and superlatively well chosen illustrations of scenery, monuments, ceremonies and paintings. Professor Ullendorff's book is likewise addressed to the general reader, though his footnote references will guide the student to more recondite sources than Doresse's single bibliographical note. Both volumes are mainly historical in arrangement and they are aptly complementary to one another. Doresse, as befits an archaeologist, concentrates more on material culture. Ullendorff, as a Semitic linguist, is more at home in Ethiopian and European literature, in the history of religion and in questions of comparative ethnology affecting the relationship of early Ethiopia with the states of South Arabia. As is common with Ethiopianists, both of them ignore almost completely the African elements in Ethiopian life and culture, and the historical relationships between Ethiopia and the lands to the west and the south. Even within the modern Ethiopian frontiers, neither gives any adequate treatment to the Galla or the Sidama peoples, who form so large a part of the population and have played so great a part in Ethiopian history. Nevertheless, within this limitation, these are two distinguished books and with Spencer Trimingham's *Islam in Ethiopia* and the recent reprint of the invaluable *History of Ethiopia* by Professor A. H. M. Jones and Miss Elizabeth Monroe, the English-speaking student is now tolerably well provided for.

Professor Duffy's *Portuguese Africa* fills, though with less distinction, a greater gap in the English literature on African history. It covers the history of Angola and Mozambique from the discoveries to the present day. There is a chapter on early Portuguese activities on the Congo, but nothing on Guinea or the Cape Verde islands, or on the Portuguese in northern East Africa or Ethiopia. The four centuries from the late fifteenth to the late nineteenth occupy about half the book: the remainder is devoted to the modern colonial period since the partition of Africa and the definition of frontiers. The material is clumsily arranged under rather artificial subject divisions which make it necessary, for example, to look for Gonçalo de Silveira not in the chapter on the sixteenth-century penetration of the Zambezi area but in another called Missionary Enterprise, most of which is

concerned with the twentieth century. Again seventeenth-century Slave Trade and twentieth-century Contract Labour hardly have enough in common to justify their treatment in a single chapter, in defiance of the chronological frame of reference. It is thus a book that has to be studied from the index rather than from the table of contents; and, even so, its treatment of the modern colonial period is rather disappointing, being based too much on a highly theoretical colonial literature and too little on reports, debates, budgets and balance-sheets which are apt to be more satisfactory grist to the colonial historian's mill. Despite its deficiencies, however, this is a useful, reliable book which will at any rate serve as an introduction to an important subject not hitherto catered for in any of the better-known European languages.

In 1956 Professor Boxer and Senhor Azevedo were commissioned by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to advise on a proposal to repair and renovate Fort Jesus at Mombasa as a Museum and Institute for the History and Archæology of the Indian Ocean. Following their recommendations the Gulbenkian Foundation made a grant of £30,000 and the work is now in hand. To elaborate this act of munificence, Professor Boxer and Senhor Azevedo have now published in a single volume two excellent essays—one on the Portuguese in East Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the other on the architecture and construction of Fort Jesus itself. The latter is of mainly local interest. Professor Boxer's article, however, will provide a welcome substitute to the admirable but somewhat diffuse *Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika* published by Julius Strandes in 1899. It is only a pity that, despite his use of the original Portuguese authorities, Professor Boxer has ignored so much of what they have to say about the African peoples of the Coast, particularly the Galla and the Nyika; and that he has made no attempt to verify the simplest Swahili phrases such as *bwana mkubwa*—‘big boss’—which he has printed repeatedly as a proper name.

The last of the five volumes is a monograph embodying the results of original research. It comes from East Germany and the author is an historian of the Marxist school. It tells the story of the occupation of German East Africa from the first treaty-making expedition of Karl Peters and his associates in 1884 to the establishment of a Crown Colony with Wissmann as Imperial Commissioner in 1890. The subtitle describes it as ‘a study in German colonial conquest’, and the language employed is, by western standards, rather unrestrained. Words like ‘swindle’, ‘murder’ and ‘exploitation’ occur a great deal, and are varied from time to time by such composite constructions as ‘bourgeois public-house-fellowship conquerors’. The illustrations show public hangings and heavily chained groups of captured ‘freedom fighters’. Despite this somewhat macabre undertone, the work has been on the whole well done. Carefully referenced use has been made of the archives of the *Reichskolonialamt*, the records of the German consulate in Zanzibar, and the papers of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, all of which are now in the *Zentralarchiv* at Potsdam and not easily accessible to western scholars.

The ‘occupation’ phase of German colonial history is of course a splendid theme for the Marxist. There exists in the published works of Karl Peters alone such a mine of wickedness that one cannot but feel that under Dr.

Müller's treatment *he* at least has met with some measure of richly deserved justice. The case of Wissmann is far more complex. His problem was to establish respect for the authority of a foreign colonial government in a country where the first attempts at colonization had been overthrown with little difficulty, and where the armed forces at the disposal of the Imperial Commissioner amounted to less than 2000 men. What view one takes of the 'pacification' over which he presided depends partly on whether one thinks that Europeans had any right to be meddling in East African affairs at all, partly on whether one thinks that a period of colonial tutelage has been, regardless of its motives, the indispensable means of restoring the African peoples to their place in the main stream of human progress. Sir Harry Johnston once made a striking comment on the Uganda Railway, the building of which was not accomplished without its quota of human hardship. It was, he said, 'one of those strong gouges which civilisation employs to rough-hew her ends, a gouge which leaves a great clean track of good, sprinkled at its edges with items of suffering, little deeds of harm and unintentional injuries of atoms.' Now that we are beginning to be able to see the colonial period in retrospect, Johnston's dictum is one which might, according to one point of view, be applied to it as a whole. It is perhaps too much to expect that this will become the accepted view among the ex-colonial peoples; but the appearance of books like Dr. Müller's should be a warning to colonial historians that accepted euphemisms like 'pacification', 'law and order' and 'the pax Britannica' will no longer meet the case. However they be interpreted, the facts of the colonial occupation of Africa are facts that must be faced.

School of Oriental and African Studies, London

ROLAND OLIVER

BRITAIN IN FIJI, 1858-1880. By J. D. Legge. London: Macmillan. 1958.
viii + 307 pp. 21s.

THE AUSTRALIANS IN GERMAN NEW GUINEA, 1914-1921. By C. D. Rowley. Melbourne University Press: C.U.P. 1959. 371 pp. 52s. 6d.

The Pacific has been generally neglected by British colonial historians, who have fixed their gaze upon Africa or South East Asia. This is a pity because the islands, apart from their intrinsic interest, offer examples of every type of colonial situation on a small scale, and they can be used to illuminate the history of larger and more complex areas. To scholars working in Australia or New Zealand the South Pacific commands a more immediate attention, and two Australians have written these books dealing with two of the major island groups: Fiji and New Guinea.

Dr. Legge examines the history of Colonial Office attitudes to Fiji, quite rightly making the point that to talk of a policy towards the islands is to give too deliberate an impression, but the core of the book is his discussion of Sir Arthur Gordon's administration. Legge makes two claims: that Gordon evolved a system of 'indirect rule' in Fiji well in advance of other colonial governors; that this was a consciously thought out theory of colonial rule which involved, also well in advance of others, what one may call a 'social anthropological' approach to the government of primitive peoples. Sir Arthur Gordon was a highly intelligent man, but his historian overstates his case. Gordon did not, of course, evolve his theory *in vacuo*—indeed the author cannot find an articulated theory at all—but as a result of his own previous

experience in Trinidad, Mauritius and Tobago. None of this background, which is vital to any discussion of a man's ideas, can be found in the book. Nor does Legge consider the relevance of the experience of others to Gordon's thought. For example, when Gordon discussed the application of law to primitive societies, Legge does not mention the highly significant point that Gordon did it with the particular example of India in mind, not from some abstractly conceived premiss. Nor does he refer to one of the most significant traits in Gordon's thinking about Fiji: the analogy which the latter so often drew between the Fijians and a fifteenth-century highland clan. The obvious conclusion is that Gordon was not so much a forerunner of the social anthropological approach as a student of Maine's *Ancient Law*. Still, although its treatment of Gordon leaves something to be desired, this is a useful book on an important subject. The author is not content to relate what the Colonial Office said to the Governor and vice versa (which so frequently passes for colonial history), but to describe what Fiji and the Fijians were actually like.

Mr. Rowley's book is equally painstaking: he has accumulated a great deal of official material which it is very useful to have in print. As a quarry for the seeker after facts, the book is to be welcomed. Unfortunately its style is prolix and repetitive, and the conclusions often seem somewhat trite. The author sets out to describe the military administration; this, until the granting of the mandate, ruled the former German colony very largely by following German policy and administration, because it had no other experience at hand. Rowley regrets that this was so, and seems attracted to the idea that the adoption of British colonial traditions, especially those which existed in the neighbouring Australian colony of Papua, would have been better. He acknowledges the worth of the German governor Hahl but maintains that German colonial practice did not altogether correspond to his ideals. This argument seems to me to suffer from lack of a clear and consistent account of German policy, nor does Rowley offer any satisfactory account of the Papuan alternative. In their absence, his book has too much the appearance of an interim factual report.

The Australian National University, Canberra

F. J. WEST

L'EXPANSION ALLEMANDE OUTRE-MER DU XVE SIÈCLE À NOS JOURS. By H. Brunschwig. Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1957. 208 pp. 800 frs.
 Intended as an introduction for French readers, this volume in the 'Pays d'Outre Mer' series will have limited interest for English readers. It has little on the post-unification period which is not to be found in Dr. Townsend's *The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire*. The earlier period is stretched to include everything remotely connected with expansion, from the colonization of eastern Europe in the fourteenth century to the activities of the cartographers and cosmographers who contributed to the great discoveries by Spain and Portugal. More than half the book is given to the pre-Bismarckian period, a disproportionate amount, since no unifying theme is disclosed to justify calling the various activities 'German expansion'. As Professor Brunschwig shows, the major activity was undirected emigration (which relieved the multitudinous states of the burden of supporting large populations), and commercial enterprise. The interested Hanse towns had to wait beyond Bismarck's little German policy until von Bülow before they were able to nationalize their intermittent demands for territorial

annexations to secure their markets. When they got the political support, German capital was largely absorbed at home, and the chauvinism which was the true source of imperialism frightened away the foreign capital which alone could have made the colonies a viable concern. In 1914, the volume of colonial trade was one half of one per cent of Germany's total and the cost of administration half as much again as the revenue yielded by the Empire. Germany sought colonies only when she ceased to need them. The penultimate chapter makes the least depressing reading, dealing with the belated attempt by Dernburg to develop sound administration along English lines in the colonies, freed from the interference of politicians for whom the colonies were but counters in Germany's world policy: his failure resulted as much from obstruction on the spot as from political machination at home.

It is curious that the author, having cast his net so wide, should have so little to say about German penetration in South America; an area in which Bryce in 1912 noted that 'there is no place, however remote, where one does not find the enterprising German' and where Bingham, in the previous year, saw that the German sent out to capture South America commercially was 'going to damage England more truly than dreadnoughts or gigantic airships'. Despite the '*à nos jours*' of the title the work ends at Versailles and the revival of Pan-Germanism under the Nazis is ignored. The bibliography, which in a work of this kind should surely take the reader from the general survey to more detailed studies, is inadequate.

Worcester College, Oxford

H. G. PITT

In a well-planned book, Mr. J. Alden Nichols gives a sympathetic portrait of the worthy man who essayed the impossible task of succeeding Bismarck. *GERMANY AFTER BISMARCK: THE CAPRIVI ERA, 1890-1894* (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 404 pp. 6s.) shows Caprivi facing the challenge of both Bismarck's reputation and the system which Bismarck had created, and paying him the compliment of trying to work the system which Bismarck himself in the end had found unworkable. Bismarck, who might well have said, like Arthur, 'I perish by this people which I made', had fallen when the decisive defeat of the Kartell in 1890 had shown that he had come to the end of the political improvisations whereby he had hitherto controlled the Reichstag; Caprivi proposed to carry the Reichstag with him by substituting honesty and good will for opportunism, and he succeeded for a time. The problem of any Chancellor was, however, to satisfy both the Reichstag and the Prussian parliament, the stronghold of Junker interests and outlook. For two years his trade treaties and foreign policy—including the dropping of the Reinsurance treaty with Russia—did unite warring factions on a platform of national interest. Already in 1892, however, the crisis over the Schools Bill showed the limitations of his appeal, and if his influence with the Reichstag remained, his control of the Prussian parliament had been lost. The Kaiser, disloyal to any bargain that threatened his own popularity, was wayward and unreliable. Caprivi was needed to push through the new army bill in 1893, but he had given up the office of Prussian prime minister in 1892, and had henceforth to face the hostility of the Prussian ministers, who finally had their way with the Emperor. Caprivi's tenth offer of resignation was accordingly accepted. Mr. Nichols gives an attractive

picture of the stiff and honest old general, who differed so markedly from Bismarck, not only in ability but also in his capacity for reticence and self-criticism. But there was considerable truth in his own final comment that he had been 'too unfamiliar with the practical techniques'; in short, that he had had too little political experience to make lasting headway among the organized disloyalties of the German political struggle.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

FROM BISMARCK TO ADENAUER: ASPECTS OF GERMAN STATECRAFT (Johns Hopkins Press: O.U.P. 1959. xvii + 156 pp. 36s.), a slighter work than its price suggests, consists of five lectures given by Professor Gordon A. Craig under the Albert Shaw foundation. It is an excellent brief introduction to modern German diplomatic history, by one of the brightest and best of America's younger historians. The unifying theme is the German practice of diplomacy, which had been brought to its highest efficiency by Bismarck, and the unhappy results of the subsequent neglect of the resources of diplomacy in favour of more violent means of attaining national goals. Craig's view of Bismarck is one of almost unqualified admiration: by this standard, all Bismarck's successors fail in some degree, but he thinks less well of Holstein, Bülow, and Kiderlen-Wächter than of Rathenau and Stresemann, whose courage he recognizes; he thinks that Bruening has been accorded a degree of respect by writers on German affairs that is out of all proportion to his accomplishments; and he has a high regard for Konrad Adenauer, 'the most impressive statesman in the Western alliance', a man of steady nerves, stubborn purpose, and ideals. 'The nation whose unity was first forged by Bismarck he wished to submerge in a greater unity. Even failure should not be allowed to dim the grandeur of the attempt.' Professor Craig writes well, with a good sense of the broader issues, and an expert's knowledge of the background.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

STUDIES IN BRITISH OVERSEAS TRADE, 1870-1914. By S. B. Saul. Liverpool University Press. 1960. ix + 246 pp. 35s.

Dr. Saul has written a most perceptive and admirable book. His main theme is the detailed structure of the network of international trade and payments and the relation of the British economy to it. He shows how the various large but partially self-contained areas of multilateral payments fused into one worldwide system in the last third of the nineteenth century. He traces the great changes which took place between 1870 and 1914 in the distribution of surpluses and deficits and in the flows of payments which kept the whole system in balance, and relates them to the international movement of capital and to the stimuli which this imparted to national capital accumulation in different parts of the world. In the course of this investigation he demonstrates the significance of the shift in the direction of British foreign investment after 1870 and of the retention of a large free-trade market in Britain at a time when the demand for both food and manufactures from abroad was growing rapidly there. Britain, by her financial activities and by great exports of merchandise, built up a large surplus of payments with a few countries (which in the early years of this century were becoming dangerously fewer).

These few, in turn, were able to meet their obligations to Britain from the earnings obtained by mounting sales of primary produce to non-British areas of expanding population and industry. And the rest of the world found in Britain a market and a source of loans so large that the sterling which was the world's most acceptable currency was seldom hard to come by.

Dr. Saul also looks closely at a number of other trading questions. He studies the effects of foreign tariffs on the volume of trade generally and on the sales of specific British industries in particular markets. He examines the changes in the sales of consumer goods and capital goods, both by Britain and competing countries, which accompanied and followed heavy British investment in two specimen areas, Argentina and Australia. He considers the nature and causes of fluctuations in British foreign trade. And he makes a more detailed enquiry into the rôle of Britain's imperial economic relations within the international trading network. Throughout the book he has been completely successful in maintaining the balance of factual evidence and theoretical speculation, and in this respect has fruitfully ignored the bad example of some of the fairly recent writing about the economy of the same period. On some points of presentation or on conclusions about a few matters of detail one may disagree with him. It is surprising, for instance, that the figures of British foreign trade are never directly compared with those of world trade as a whole. It is possible to think that the sacrifice imposed on Britain's agriculture by the way in which her foreign trade developed was less severe than is suggested by Dr. Saul's account. But these are very minor matters. The important thing is that no one previously has so thoroughly uncovered and clearly explained the linkages which were inherent in Britain's international economic life—the linkages of country with country, trade with trade, trade with capital flow. Because of this, it can be said that, of all the numerous articles and monographs which in recent years have sought to solve the mysteries of the so-called 'Great Depression' and its disconcerting Edwardian sequel, none has been more illuminating than this book.

University of Bristol

W. ASHWORTH

THE UNIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICA, 1902-1910. By L. M. Thompson.

Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xvi + 549 pp. 50s.

South Africa illustrates well the dictum that each generation must re-write its own history: past events can be judged only in the light of their consequences. Now, in the jubilee year of the Union of South Africa, the re-appraisal is agonizing, so that this weighty description of the immediate process of Union appears opportunely. Here are the hopes and fears of the men of the day, with, on the British side, the view which long persisted in this country that South African self-government was a great achievement of the Liberals under Campbell-Bannerman. In fact, the Liberal party was always in a dilemma over South Africa, but between 1900 and 1910 they opted for white self-government and played down the needs of the native peoples; they were giving up responsibility.

It is then fitting that this work should be drawn from South African material: the Colonial Office papers were not available to Professor Thompson but 'the general tenor' of British policy is 'clear enough from other sources'. The Union was made in South Africa by South Africans. The wealth

of private papers enables us now to see below the discussions of the Conventions. In one revealing example Smuts is frank on the question of the natives: they had been dispossessed of their land, the 'sphinx problem' of their political future he preferred to shift 'to the ampler shoulders and stronger brains of the future'. In the argument that Union would make for the necessary concentration of political brain-power to deal with this and other subjects is, perhaps, a reflection of the view Lionel Curtis used to express which is, however, only hinted at here—that the real reason for Union and not federation was the all-pervading nature of the native problem.

The discussions of the Conventions were those of a white oligarchy concerned not least with the old animus between their two groups who had so recently fought. From the meetings in 1908–10 was born a 'Convention-spirit', a new respect, in particular, between Botha and Jameson; hopes were raised of a real appeasement of old quarrels. However, the strife of the first general election of 1910 showed the way South African politics were to go: 'race', in the sense of division between Boer and Briton, dominated the outcome. Subsequent events have made plain Professor Thompson's conclusion that the South African flexible constitution was the worst possible prescription in the divisions of South Africa: it would have been better to have looked to the United States of America than to Britain for the model.

Impressive in detail is the account of how this constitution was brought about: Smuts's 'consummate skill' and 'immense working capacity', supported by a united Transvaal delegation with a competent staff reinforced by the fact of the economic strength of the Transvaal. Whilst Merriman from the Cape and Steyn from the Orange River Colony were two other important figures it was the Northern drive which set the pattern. Only through ignorance or failure to understand the forces in South Africa were people in Britain in 1909 able to believe that Cape liberal policies would win against those from the North. Here the detail of factual knowledge overwhelms ignorance: the account bears out and enlightens our understanding of subsequent events in South Africa.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford

GEORGE BENNETT

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY, 1924–1926, vol. ii. By E. H. Carr. London: Macmillan. 1959. viii + 493 pp. 45s.

Volume Two of *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926* is the sixth volume in Mr. E. H. Carr's *A History of Soviet Russia* which is to be continued down to 1929 in ten volumes in all. The preceding volume, which appeared in 1958, was mainly devoted to economic developments in the years 1924 to 1926. The present volume deals with political, constitutional and administrative developments and is divided into two almost equal parts entitled 'The Struggle in the Party' and 'The Soviet Order'. As might have been expected, it shows Mr. Carr's complete mastery of the available material and his exceptional skill in disentangling complicated issues and presenting them in lucid and incisive prose. Given the general design and shape of the history, it ranks in many ways among the best of the volumes so far published.

The most absorbing parts are the chapters on the struggle among the party leaders and on 'The Monolithic Party'. The thirteenth party congress in May 1924 had confirmed and registered the defeat of Trotsky and the

opposition of 1923 at the hands of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin; and although the struggle between Trotsky and the triumvirate flared up once more in the summer and autumn of 1924 Trotsky was again decisively outmanœuvred if not outargued and chose to withdraw into the background. Mr. Carr affirms that Trotsky failed to understand that the determining factor was no longer argument but control and manipulation of the levers of political power. 'He had,' he says, 'no stomach for a fight whose character bewildered and eluded him.' But were not Trotsky's attacks on the growth of bureaucracy within the party some indication that the changing character of the struggle had not eluded him? It is true that when attacked he 'retreated from the arena'. But may not his retreat have been due in part to his realization that even if he had the arguments it was his opponents who marshalled the votes?

Mr. Carr's account of the subsequent rift in the triumvirate and of the defeat of Zinoviev and Kamenev at the fourteenth party congress in December 1925 is very well done. He shows how the thesis of 'socialism in one country', which Stalin originally propounded at the end of 1924 as a contribution to the fight against Trotsky and which nobody at first took much notice of, seemed to be at the heart of the political, doctrinal and economic disputes which developed in the autumn of 1925 and which were in part a cause but even more a result of the continuing struggle for power among the party leaders. The conflict also assumed the form of an attempt by the Leningrad party organization under Zinoviev's leadership to assert Leningrad's 'proletarian pre-eminence' and pit itself against the central party organs in Moscow and against the Moscow party organization which had now been wrested from Kamenev's control. Zinoviev, Kamenev and their associates were made to appear as underminers of party unity and as pessimists who lacked faith in the constructive capacities of the Soviet peoples to move towards socialism without outside help. Bukharin came out as the main spokesman against them both before and after their defeat at the fourteenth party congress. But it was Stalin, with his grip on the party apparatus, who really determined their defeat and who profited most from it and from the accompanying taming of and changes in the Leningrad party organization. Mr. Carr says in his chapter on 'The Monolithic Party' that it would be misleading to regard as the work of one man the concentration of power in the central apparatus in the name of party unity and the enforcement of party discipline. 'The process', he comments, 'was not perhaps consciously planned by anyone; but it was also not consistently resisted by anyone'. All this is certainly true. But it leads him perhaps to underestimate the unique rôle of Stalin who furthered the process to the best of his ability, never seems to have resisted it at all, and was its chief beneficiary throughout. Stalin needed no Mr. Carr to make him realize that in the circumstances 'the concentration of power in the central organization also meant the concentration of power in the hands of one man'.

The second part of the book, which deals with the constitutional and administrative problems following on the adoption of the constitution of the U.S.S.R. of 1923, lacks the drama of the earlier part. But it is written with the same clarity of analysis and lucidity of exposition and so maintains the reader's interest in topics which could easily have become tedious if treated by a less skilful pen. The crucial chapter is the concluding one on 'Order and

'Security', and its closing sentences make a fitting end to a volume which is Chestertonian in the number of its paradoxes.

'Security,' Mr. Carr writes, 'no longer meant the defence of the Soviets against the champions of the *ancien régime*; it no longer meant, within the Soviets, the defence of Bolshevik revolution against the challenge of dissident parties of the Left; it meant, within the Bolshevik party, the defence of a specific ruling group or order. And this in turn involved a conspicuous change in the character and functions of the security organs. The repressive powers of the OGPU were henceforth directed primarily against opposition in the party, which was the only effective form of opposition in the state.'

School of Slavonic and East European Studies, London

G. H. BOLSOVER

CABINET GOVERNMENT AND WAR, 1890-1940. By J. Ehrman. Cambridge University Press. 1958. xi + 137 pp. 16s.

Necessity is the mother of invention and in our history, as in so many others, necessity has been the child of war. It is this vicissitude more than any other that tests the administrative structure to its limits, and, therefore, it is no accident that during the last two centuries the great bursts of administrative reform have each been occasioned by the strains and drains of warfare. Burke's 'Economical Reform' speech and the movement it occasioned were prompted by the gross mismanagement of the American War. In like manner the continuance of financial reform, and the remodelling of such antique institutions as the Exchequer, were occasioned by the pressure of the struggle with Napoleon. The mismanagement of the Crimean War ushered in the movement for civil service reform and established the triumph of the ministerial department over board management.

Cabinet Government and War is the published version of the Lees Knowles Lectures of 1957. In this slim book Mr. John Ehrman has shown how far the structure of the modern Cabinet is due to the experiences of the Boer War and the First World War; while in his last pages he sketches the further developments which were to come after 1940, from our experience in the Second World War.

Describing the Cabinet as it was in 1906, Lord Haldane wrote: '[It] was like a meeting of delegates. It consisted of a too large body of members of whom two or three had the gift of engrossing its attention for their own business. The result of this and the want of system which it produced was that business was not always properly discussed and the general points of view which required definition almost never....' The three changes which together have transformed this situation have been respectively the establishment of a cabinet secretariat charged among other things with preparing and circulating the agenda; the establishment of standing committees of the Cabinet to deal in the first instance with their appropriate class of matters; and the device of appointing co-ordinating ministers who in some cases are responsible for the general policy involved in the operations of a group of ministers who do not sit down in the Cabinet. The Cabinet, as we know it today, makes full use of all these three devices and it would be no exaggeration to say that without these it could not carry out its functions.

Mr. Ehrman has no difficulty in showing that all three innovations owe

their origin to some military necessity—the Committee of Military Defence (as it then was) to the need for military planning in the pre-1914 period, the cabinet secretariat and the co-ordinating ministers to the demands of the First World War. His analysis goes much farther than this, however, for his very closely knit narrative traces the history of these three developments in considerable detail and shows the many forms that they move through before they reach their satisfactory final shape. He also shows how, under the pressure of 'total war' in both the First and the Second World Wars, the committee system of the Cabinet which had its basis in military planning, had to be extended over the fields of civilian production and consumption. During the inter-war period the Cabinet's concern with these fields ceased. In the Second World War, however, the control of the civilian field had to be elaborated once more. With this experience to build upon, the post-1945 Cabinets, committed as they were to responsibility for the well-being of the national economy and to the provision of a national minimum, found little difficulty in extending the standing committee system to cover the fields of economic regulation and planning.

The often complicated developments during this period, 1890–1940, have been expounded with much concision and economy; and the author has duly related them to the political as well as the administrative considerations prevalent at the time. On the whole, however, Mr. Ehrman seems to incline to the view that the over-riding pressures, and the ultimate determinants of the shape the system took, were administrative. It may be argued, however, that even on his own showing—but one which is reinforced by the war memoirs of both the First and the Second World Wars—the rôle of political personality played the crucial part. The great change in the structure and operation of the Cabinet, both in the First and the Second World Wars, could hardly have come about in the absence of the purposeful thrustfulness of Lloyd George and Churchill, and it is equally arguable that without their dynamic restlessness and super-abundant resource, the complicated committee structure of the war cabinets of 1916 and 1940 would have proved just as clumsily ineffective as the cumbrous devices that had previously been tried out and, as Mr. Ehrman records, jettisoned on the way.

University College of North Staffordshire

S. E. FINER

WAR IN THE MODERN WORLD. By Theodore Ropp. Duke University Press:

C.U.P. 1959. xv + 400 pp. 80s.

MAN, THE STATE, AND WAR. By Kenneth N. Waltz. Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1959. ix + 263 pp. 44s.

These two works, one by a historian and one by a political scientist, are significant and welcome evidence of the increased attention being devoted in American academic circles to the serious study of war; though their publication, by drawing attention to the dearth of comparable work on this side of the Atlantic, should be for us a cause not so much for rejoicing as for shame. Each will be, for different reasons, a desirable addition both to the sixth form and the undergraduate library; not least because both are written with a clarity and a conciseness which is decreasingly typical of American work in this field. Professor Waltz in particular is notably lucid and often witty in his examination of the explanations for the phenomenon of war which have been put forward by successive generations of political

thinkers. He examines in turn the three classic theories: that war is caused by the natural aggressiveness of man, and can therefore be prevented by more research into and application of the social sciences; that it is the result of the inequitable organization of the State itself, and that once the State has been transformed by revolution all causes of war will disappear; finally that it is the inevitable result of international anarchy—'wars occur because there is nothing to prevent them'—and will continue until this anarchy is converted into order by the creation of world government. It cannot be said that Professor Waltz's critique of these theories is dispassionate. For him, as for Rousseau, war exists because states exist, and he is sceptical of the beliefs both of the behaviourists, who hope to attain world order by changing man, and of the liberals and socialists who dreamed, by abolishing Feudalism, or Monarchy, or Capitalism, to cure the ills of international society. But if his views provoke disagreement, so much the better: it is better that the problem should be discussed than, as is more usual, ignored.

Professor Ropp's work is less contentious but no less useful, even if it does not quite fulfil the hopes raised by its ambitious title. It is not, as one might think, a study of the part which war has played in transforming society. It is a careful account of the development of war techniques from the Renaissance until today, accompanied—and this may be its principal use for students of the subject—by a very full annotated bibliography which displays wide knowledge and shrewd judgement. Professor Ropp rightly devotes the greater part of his work to the study of military thought and organization and of weapon development, rather than to campaign narratives of the type which have hitherto made the study of military history so forbidding a subject for civilians; yet he treats both the American War of Independence and the American Civil War at a length which they deserve but, at the hands of European historians, seldom receive. One may doubt the wisdom of allotting 70 out of 380 pages to the Second World War (Napoleon's wars receive 25); and, as is inevitable in a work of such scope, errors creep in. It was not the Austrian but the Prussian artillery which was held too far back in the War of 1866 (Hohenlohe's *Letters on Artillery* is not mentioned in the bibliography); two German *corps*, not divisions, were transferred from the Western to the Eastern front in 1914; there is no evidence that Pétain 'repeatedly' urged Haig to continue British offensives in the summer of 1917; popular errors about the purpose of the Maginot Line are perpetuated; and the British reader will find it hard to make allowances for references to 'Lord Maurice Hankey' and 'Lord Samuel Templewood'. These and other slips will madden specialists, but do not detract from the very great value of the book as an aid both to teacher and student.

King's College, London

MICHAEL HOWARD

The earliest existing manuscript of *Candide* in facsimile, a scholarly and convincing account of the involved circumstances with which Voltaire surrounded the publication, and a sympathetic and penetrating re-assessment of the basic ideas of his greatest *conte*, is more than can be expected in a single book; but it is what we are given in VOLTAIRE AND 'CANDIDE' (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xvi + 369 pp. 68s.) by Ira O. Wade. Professor Wade rightly sees that the problem of evil is the key problem for

eighteenth-century thought, and the inspiration of Voltaire an intense pity for the sufferings of man.

The problem of the nature and origin of religion was one of the basic pre-occupations of the eighteenth century. The nature of the answers offered is examined by Frank E. Manuel in *THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CONFRONTS THE GODS* (Harvard University Press: O.U.P. 1959. xvi + 336 pp. 54s.). The earlier sections on Bayle, Fontenelle and the English Deists are penetrating and well organized. More space is devoted to Newton's ideas on chronology than seems quite justified. The latter part of the book offers summaries of the views of Vico, Hume, de Brosses, Boulanger, d'Holbach and some lesser writers.

Dr. M. Dorothy George has used her great knowledge of English caricatures in *ENGLISH POLITICAL CARICATURE: A STUDY OF OPINION AND PROPAGANDA*, vol. i, TO 1792, vol. ii, 1793–1832 (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1959. xii + 237 pp., 96 plates; xii + 275 pp., 96 plates. 70s. each volume). She finds the beginning of English caricature in the struggle against James I, and the end of a ruthless tradition in the gentlemanly drawings of H.B. Since the prints of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were sold separately, she holds that they reflect opinion and can be used not merely as illustrations but as a source for the historical pattern. While we must be grateful for what Mrs. George has given us, it must be said that most of the reproductions can be appreciated properly only with the aid of a magnifying glass. The inexpert reader is doubtless not aware of all the technical difficulties, but it does seem that there are now other publishers who can produce illustrated books in a larger format and at a lower price.

The first two volumes in *The British Political Tradition Series* have been reissued. These are Max Beloff's *THE DEBATE ON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION* (London: A. and C. Black. 1960. xi + 304 pp. 18s.), reviewed *ante*, xxxix. 174–5, and Alfred Cobban's *THE DEBATE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION* (London: A. and C. Black. 1960. xx + 496 pp. 25s.).

That Robert Southey is now seldom read, save for *Blenheim*, *Goldilocks and the Three Bears*, and perhaps his *Life of Nelson*, is a sad reflection of the natural fate of the publicist, always too concerned with the passing moment to escape from it. Mr. Geoffrey Carnall, in *ROBERT SOUTHEY AND HIS AGE. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSERVATIVE MIND* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. viii + 233 pp. 30s.) has used the voluminous writings and letters left behind by Southey in a detailed survey of the poet as a commentator on his changing age.

A straightforward account for the general reader is provided by Dr. W. K. Lowther Clarke in *A HISTORY OF THE S.P.C.K.* (London: S.P.C.K. 1959. 244 pp. 21s.).

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1815–1939 (O.U.P.: Home University Library. 2nd edn. 1960. 278 pp. 8s. 6d.) by J. R. M. Butler has been republished with a new chapter on the years 1919–39.

HANOVER TO WINDSOR: BRITISH MONarchs FROM 1830 TO 1936 (London: Batsford, 1960. 208 pp. 25s.), by Roger Fulford, is a pleasantly written anecdotal study of the personalities of the four monarchs who between them cover a century. Either the subjects or the treatment, or both, are more sympathetic than in earlier volumes in this series. There are some interesting illustrations.

Dr. R. B. McDowell defines the object of his book, BRITISH CONSERVATISM, 1832-1914 (London: Faber, 1959. 191 pp. 21s.), as an attempt 'to show what political opinions a member of the English conservative party might be committed to supporting'. To serve this purpose examples from the speeches, writings, and correspondence of representative conservative leaders and publicists are woven into a well-written and informative study. The treatment, however, pre-supposes in the reader a considerable general knowledge of the social and political history of the period. The author's isolation of his theme occasionally produces distortions of emphasis. For instance, a brief review of the activities of Sir George Askwith during the trades disputes of the years 1911 to 1914 would have placed in better perspective the Unionist discussion of industrial arbitration.

Emile Durkheim's *Le Socialisme* has been translated by Charlotte Sattler and edited with an Introduction by Alvin W. Gouldner under the title SOCIALISM AND SAINT-SIMON (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction), 1959. xxix + 240 pp. 28s.). A preliminary note that 'the main objective was to rescue the fruit of Durkheim's thought, not the flower of his style' does not adequately excuse a translation into a sort of sociological pidgin-English; while such forms as habeus corpus, Richlieu, Maecenus, at normal school, Juares, the curate Meslier, Dreyfuss, Pons et Chaussées, Sainte-Pélgie, Petites-Maison, and the many misprints in the titles of French books suggest an equal unfamiliarity with both French and English languages.

Under the title ENGELS AS MILITARY CRITIC (Manchester University Press, 1959. xix + 146 pp. 25s.) W. H. Chaloner and W. O. Henderson have collected and provided with an Introduction a selection of articles by Engels written in the 1860s on military topics. These include the Volunteer movement, the history of the rifle, the French army in 1860, the American Civil War, the Schleswig-Holstein War and the Austro-Prussian War.

Raymond E. Lindgren's NORWAY-SWEDEN: UNION, DISUNION AND SCANDINAVIAN INTEGRATION (Princeton University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 298 pp. 40s.) breaks new ground by discussing in English the problems which beset the Union, 1814-1905, between Norway and Sweden; but the book suffers from a preconceived framework which at times distorts the historical perspective.

A twentieth-century trade union history has been written by J. E. Mortimer in A HISTORY OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THE ENGINEERING AND SHIP-BUILDING DRAUGHTSMEN (London: A.E.S.D.: MacGibbon and Kee, 1960.

xi + 489 pp. 37s. 6d.). The association was founded in 1913 and a detailed and conscientious record of its activities takes the story up to 1958.

A concise and well balanced account of a rather pathetic history is given in THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY: A HISTORICAL PROFILE (London: A. and C. Black. 1958. 204 pp. 18s.) by Henry Pelling. He brings out clearly the growing bureaucratic fossilization of the party, but might perhaps have laid more emphasis on the element of almost religious faith which inspired it in earlier days.

The very detailed parliamentary history of the Third Republic since 1906 by Georges and Edouard Bonnefous, *HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE LA TROISIÈME RÉPUBLIQUE*, has reached its fourth volume, *CARTEL DES GAUCHE ET UNION NATIONALE* (1924-9) (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1960. viii + 412 pp. 20 NF.).

THE AMERICAS

MOVEMENTS OF POLITICAL PROTEST IN CANADA, 1640-1840. By S. D. Clark. Toronto University Press: O.U.P. 1959. ix + 518 pp. 52s.

Fifteen years ago Professor S. D. Clark, with the assistance of the Canadian Social Science Research Council, set out to organize the systematic study of the Social Credit movement in the province of Alberta. Eight volumes have been published on various aspects of the history and organization of the society in western Canada which produced the Social Credit movement. Mr. Clark has now added a ninth volume which seeks to place opposition movements in Canada in a long historical perspective and to relate them to the general frontier phenomena of North America.

Movements of Political Protest in Canada is an impressive piece of scholarship based upon a wide-ranging study of original source material. The great variety of events described and the long span of time covered are woven into a coherent whole by a scheme of general ideas concerning social conflicts in North America which it is Mr. Clark's object to reveal clothed in facts. 'Great land masses present problems of control. The ineptness of political administration where distances are great breeds political discontent and offers opportunities for the growth of revolutionary movements... Thrown on their own resources, the population of isolated areas or areas of new economic growth organized their own systems of control and when central authority sought to establish itself movements of revolt quickly developed.' This quotation does less than justice to Mr. Clark's thesis, but it indicates something of the hypotheses which he seeks to prove. In a short notice one cannot express a considered opinion of a complex and elaborately documented argument. It is proper to say, however, that no student of North American history can afford to ignore Mr. Clark's book. He has written a great interpretative work.

University of Birmingham

H. S. FERNS

The origins of American political party organization are at present attracting the close attention of historians, both of the 1790s and of the Jacksonian period. To the study of the latter phase Mr. Robert V. Remini, who is writing a full-scale political biography of Van Buren, has made a distinct contribution by interrupting his longer work to produce a sort of instalment in *MARTIN VAN BUREN AND THE MAKING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY* (Columbia University Press: O.U.P. 1959. 271 pp. 40s.) which offers a clearly written and highly informative account of its subject. The merits of the book include a refreshingly intelligible explanation of the Tariff of Abominations. He is good at giving a clear narrative of the central theme of complicated political developments, a purpose in which he strengthens his hand by sticking close to Van Buren himself. He risks the corresponding danger, that of assuming Van Buren's point of view as the basis of his own analysis. Thus Van Buren, as he shows, saw little difference in the political condition of the country between 1816 and 1824; while the extraordinary upsurge of the anti-Masonic movement, which shook society and politics over large parts of the country, is treated strictly within the limits of the problem it presented to Van Buren as a party manager. Mr. Remini seems to be quite clear about where he is going, for he states in his introduction that none of the efforts towards party organization 'were inspired by economic or social changes taking place in the nation'. This is a tenable view, though one making for tendentious interpretation. Its tenability may, on a wider view, be found to lie more in the problem selected for study than in the real nature of politics at the time when that problem arose. The reader of this book should supplement it by turning to the political methods of the followers of Calhoun, as examined by Sydnor in *The Development of Southern Sectionalism*, a title which is absent from the bibliography. Mr. Remini does not look too closely into the political ideas of his characters, except for emphasizing Van Buren's genuine commitment to the original principles of Jefferson's party, and this commitment does not carry complete conviction, either because it was shallow (such a lack of originality, in the era that was to produce Jackson, does not argue strongly held convictions) or because of the author's own want of interest in social and economic questions. Ideas, when they arise, are treated as a kind of intrusion into the functioning of politics. Indeed, one of the main points which Mr. Remini, unintentionally, illustrates, is the limitation of political biography as a way of writing history. These remarks are not intended to detract from the matter of his contribution, still less to minimize the importance of Van Buren's activities, but rather to suggest that this able monograph is to some extent committed to one side in a discussion which may develop more clearly in the next few years.

University College, London

J. R. POLE

THE IDEA OF CONTINENTAL UNION: AGITATION FOR THE ANNEXATION OF CANADA TO THE UNITED STATES, 1849-1893 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. ix + 276 pp. \$5), by Donald F. Warner, won for its author the Mississippi Valley Historical Association prize in 1958. It is a clear, readable and commendably brief but thorough examination of the efforts made in Canada and the United States to incorporate Canada in the American Union as a state or states. Professor Warner has added little to our knowledge of the long-familiar and much studied annexation movement

of 1848-9. Much original research has gone into post-confederation movements for annexation. Professor Warner's examination of American materials, particularly the Ramsey and Taylor Papers, throws much new light on American attempts to capitalize upon the movement led by Louis Riel. He shows convincingly how the American movement was local in its origins and failed partly through Riel's own opposition to annexation but also because no powerful interests connected with the U.S. Government were prepared to think seriously about annexing the prairies of British North America. Having surveyed movements for annexation Professor Warner concludes that on the Canadian side they failed because they were always narrowly based upon economic interest and always lacked a truly political content having to do with the values, aspirations and prejudices of the community. On the American side they failed because devotion to the manifest destiny of the United States was successful only when it was specific and closely connected with some powerful and developing interest group in the United States. To such groups Canada was of some interest, but the interest was always marginal.

University of Birmingham

H. S. FERNS

SLAVERY. A PROBLEM IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONAL AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE. By Stanley M. Elkins. Chicago University Press. 1959. C.U.P. 1960. viii + 248 pp. 36s.

NEGRO SLAVERY IN ARKANSAS. By Orville W. Taylor. Duke University Press. 1958. C.U.P. 1959. viii + 282 pp. 45s.

Negro slavery was America's 'peculiar institution' and some very peculiar books have been written about it. Fortunately, neither of these works is in this category; though some readers, who are not in sympathy with his method, may be tempted to raise an eyebrow at certain parts of Dr. Elkins' study. He seems to be one of the few American historians to grasp the truly seminal character of Frank Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen. The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1947). Tannenbaum recognized the peculiar harshness of American slavery in the western hemisphere—its reduction of the slave to an absolute chattel, its reluctance to manumit and its continual threat to thrust the free Negro back into bondage—and attempted to throw light on this by comparing it with Latin-American slavery. Similarly, Dr. Elkins feels that it is by the employment of the comparative method as much as, if not more than, through the accumulation of case-studies of conditions on individual plantations and in individual States that the particular character of American slavery can best be seen. He develops a number of Tannenbaum's themes; but at the same time he makes it clear that there is room for much further work along these lines. His most striking comparison—and his most controversial—is, however, entirely original: the attempt to show that the servile, infantile type of Negro under slavery, the 'Sambo' type so abhorred by the *avant-garde* of coloured writers, was a genuine figure, by drawing attention to the emergence of similar, infantile personality changes amongst the victims of the Nazi concentration camps. Dr. Elkins defends this analogy in a valuable appendix on methodology and reinforces his conclusions in those sections of his book which deal with slavery as a problem in the history of ideas and as another illustration of the ingrained American habit of seeing everything in absolute terms, which often makes compromise impossible.

Dr. Elkins' work owes something, too, to the perspectives opened up by Oscar and Mary F. Handlin in their 'Origins of the Southern Labor System' in *The William and Mary Quarterly* for April 1950. While he recognizes the value of their investigations, Dr. Elkins offers some criticisms of them. His criticisms, however, are not developed to the degree that is shown in a recent article by Dr. Carl Degler ('Slavery and the Genesis of American Race Prejudice', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, ii (1959)), which, presumably because it was in the press at about the same time as his own book, Dr. Elkins does not note. But this article is essential reading for anyone who is prepared to study Dr. Elkins' work with the seriousness that it deserves. His book is one of the most incisive and stimulating studies of slavery which has appeared since Tannenbaum's little volume and it deserves to be read not only by professed students of American history but also by those who can see that the peculiarity of American slavery owes much to the conditions and conditioning of the British West Indies and are prepared to acknowledge that the comparative study of American servitude and abolition illuminates their British equivalents.

By contrast, Dr. Taylor's work on Arkansas slavery is in a minor key. It is a detailed and conscientious case-study which will make its main appeal to the specialist in a particular segment of American history. Those who go to it in the hope that it will readily throw light on the Little Rock Central High School episode of 1957 are likely to be disappointed. Yet, if they look closely enough, they will find material which, with a little imagination, may help them to appreciate this: for example, the protest of 'white mechanics and artisans' (p. 111) in 1858 against the employment of slaves and free Negroes in skilled trades. Dr. Taylor's use of H. M. Stanley's *Autobiography* in a number of places to illustrate plantation conditions should remind British readers that the great African explorer served for nearly a year during the Civil War in the 6th Arkansas Regiment of Volunteers. Chapter VII, 'The Balance Sheet', forms a useful supplement to Dr. Elkins' appendix on 'The "Profitability" of Slavery' and suggests that the modern microcosmic and macrocosmic approaches to American slavery, in their inter-actions, will eventually penetrate what Dr. Elkins calls the 'painful touchiness in all aspects of the subject' to produce a genuine picture of the 'peculiar institution of the South' whose true colours, in spite of—perhaps because of—the mass of writing about it, are still difficult to perceive.

University of Edinburgh

GEORGE SHEPPERSON

ROOSEVELT AND MODERN AMERICA. By John A. Woods. (Teach Yourself History Series.) London: English Universities Press. 1959. 192 pp. 10s. 6d.

Dr. John Woods has performed a far from easy task with great skill. He spends little time on preliminaries—one chapter tells the story of the years before 1932. His two chapters on the New Deal are an excellent account of the major features of that curious experiment in state planning. While he writes with sympathy of Roosevelt as a domestic reformer, his viewpoint is also cool and critical. He comes down against him on the Supreme Court battle—and rightly so. He brings out more clearly than most the errors of the President in intervening in the Congressional elections of 1938, and the occasional touches of dogmatism in the War. America's rôle in the Second

World War is a familiar story and it is told here vigorously and concisely. There is a useful working note on books, including some less usual titles; and Dr. Woods' acknowledgements indicate the range of his reading. He has written an excellent guide to an attractive, energetic but by no means straightforward President.

University of Glasgow

ESMOND WRIGHT

The University of Oklahoma Press is producing a remarkable series of illustrated volumes under the general heading of *The Civilization of the American Indians*. The fifty-fifth volume in the series is EPISODES FROM 'LIFE AMONG THE INDIANS' AND 'LAST RAMBLES', by George Catlin, edited by Marvin C. Ross (University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. xxv + 354 pp. \$12.50). In addition to Catlin's text there are 152 reproductions of his paintings of both North and South American Indians.

The first part of H. C. Allen's *Great Britain and the United States*, published in 1954, has been revised by the author, who has added a new chapter summarizing Anglo-American diplomatic relations, under the title THE ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP SINCE 1783 (London: A. and C. Black. 1959. 247 pp. 18s.).

GENERAL

Miss Janet R. Glover, the author of THE STORY OF SCOTLAND (London: Faber. 1960. 400 pp. 21s.), observes that 'Scottish people claim to be proud of their history', but very properly asks 'whether they are proud of the right things'. She herself is in no doubt that 'from the mid-18th century onwards, Scottish people entered upon a renaissance not always accorded its rightful emphasis', and she sets out 'the bold achievements of Scottish courage and intelligence' between 1707 and 1870 in a series of chapters on topics like agriculture, transport, industry, 'Cities, citizens and the arts' and 'The Scot abroad'. These 140 pages are incomparably superior to what usually serves for this period in a one-volume history. The first half of the book, ranging from prehistoric times to 1707, is too chronological in structure, is overloaded with names and dates and contains too little non-political history. Even here, however, Miss Glover is usually accurate (though she confuses two jarls of Orkney who were separated by a century) and usually takes account of recent research (though she is still speculating as to why 'the original Declaration of Arbroath' is in Edinburgh). She knows her Scotland, and indeed knows some outlying parts of it better than she knows the capital, to judge from her remark about the building of 'George Street and Brown Street' (*rectius Squares*) in 1765. She shows, too, wide sympathies and understanding (though when she criticizes James IV's plan for a crusade as 'an out-dated ambition' she forgets that the Turks were in his reign threatening central Europe). The facts are given clearly and simply, if sometimes a little consciously so, and, while the volume is not suitable as a textbook, it can

be profitably read by older children and is to be commended for the general reader of adult years.

University of Edinburgh

GORDON DONALDSON

Professor Albert Guérard's *FRANCE* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; London: Mayflower Publishing Company, 1959. xxvii + 563 pp. 70s.) is described by the author as 'the biography of a nation'. The volume is one of a series designed to equip Americans for their rôle as leaders of the free world by providing them with historical background to current events. Mr. Guérard points out that France was not destined by nature to become a nation. The myth of nationality was created by the Capetian dynasty, and the history of France is the history of her kings, until 1789, when the people take the place of the monarch. The French nation has grown in a spirit of pride and independence, but from earliest times her leaders have been aware that France is a part of Europe and a part of the civilized world. The nation reached its majority in 1946, when the preamble to the constitution of the Fourth Republic declared France ready to accept limitations of her sovereignty for the maintenance of world peace: General de Gaulle points the way towards 'a world state, a world law, and a world force.'

This argument could have been developed appropriately in an essay. Mr. Guérard has chosen instead to spin it into a long, thin, narrative account of France's political history from A.D. 842 to 1958, inviting the criticism that everything is mentioned and nothing is adequately explained. Medieval kings reign two on a page, the Edict of Nantes is revoked in a paragraph, and Danton lives and dies in a few sentences. Mr. Guérard undoubtedly possesses an enviable knowledge of all periods of French history; paragraphs here and there in his book are masterly résumés of modern research; and the last chapters show an earnest desire to commend France to the sympathetic understanding of American readers. It is to be hoped that the latter will not be irritated by the author's Olympian style and that they will not pay too much attention to his eccentric reading list.

University of Liverpool

IRENE COLLINS

ENGLISH GENEALOGY. By Anthony Richard Wagner. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. xii + 397 pp. 55s.

This remarkable book by Richmond Herald is partly an historical discussion of English society from a genealogical viewpoint, and partly a technical introduction to the study of genealogy. It does not set out to explain the historical uses of genealogy, nor to enquire historically why people at different periods become interested in it, but the reader cannot fail in the course of the book to reflect and to become informed upon these important topics. Accepting the desire felt by all kinds of enquirers to study the descent of families, the author sketches the social backgrounds in order that the changing problems of traceability may be understood. He passes from a discussion of Anglo-Saxon, Viking, Celtic and Frankish family organizations, through Anglo-Norman feudal society, illustrated with some family-examples and illuminated with the genius of J. H. Round, to a long chapter on 'the social framework'. This deals in turn with various classes or sections of English society, each taken by itself over the whole relevant period. The presentation is made convenient and agreeable for the general reader, though

the author is aware of its artificiality. The chapter which follows, on 'the rise and fall of families' is a most able result of the author's original thought, and a sort of antidote to the preceding chapter. The general section of the book ends with a chapter on strangers who have come to England (he includes Scots, Irish, Welsh, Flemings, Dutch, Germans, Huguenots, Jews and gipsies), and another on settlers who have left these shores for lands oversea. The final third of the book consists of a fairly brief description of the records useful to the genealogist, an admirable chapter on the study and literature of genealogy, and a few words on the practical approach for the genealogical student.

The book as a whole is a worthy addition to the library of any historian, because it is a general essay by an able specialist, written to clarify his specialty. Such few weaknesses as the present reviewer noticed were not radical misconceptions which spoiled the argument, but either slips which are implicitly corrected elsewhere (like the post-dating of demesne wage-labour, on p. 130), or the occasional omission of matter which might have been useful, such as a rather fuller discussion of medieval land-inheritance and the practice of enfeoffment to use. Where Dr. Wagner writes on his own specialty it would, in his own recurring, modest phrase be 'impertinent to criticize'. But even the more scissors-and-paste sections form in conjunction with the index a valuable work of reference. It is also the kind of book which can be read straight through with continuous enjoyment, for one is carried along on his currents of curious learning, speculation and *obiter dicta*: at random—the evolution of the rectilinear pedigree from the medieval *pied de gru* (p. 324), the origins of the well-known retail-trading families of Bentall, Catesby and Fitch (ch. v), and the tentative observation (p. 228) that foreign names have been assimilated among the upper classes by keeping the spelling but changing the sound (Lefevre: Lefever), and among the lower classes by changing the spelling to simulate the original sound (Pertuis: Pertwee).

Bedford College, London

F. R. H. DU BOULAY

GUIDE TO NUMISMATICS. By C. C. Chamberlain. London: English Universities Press (Teach Yourself Books). 1960. 182 pp. 7s. 6d.

The author claims that this is a book for the beginner but he does not make good his point. The idea of a simplified lexicon is a good one if considered as a part of an introductory book. The serious student, however, needs to know how to look at coins, what to look for, the kind of results obtainable, how hoard evidence is assessed and how scientific techniques are applied. This volume contains much useful and quickly available information, but there are too many slips, misprints and errors for it to be recommended. In so short and comprehensive a book the bibliography should surely have been of major importance: it looks like an afterthought and has not even been paginated. If it had to be restricted to twenty-six books, Philip Grierson's *Coins and Medals—a Select Bibliography*, published by the Historical Association in 1954, should have been prominent amongst them, nor is there any justification for directing a student to Boyne without Williamson, or to Brooke without specifying the edition. The beginner would do better to follow the directions of Grierson's bibliography.

St. Paul's School

P. D. WHITTING

GUIDE TO THE DIPLOMATIC ARCHIVES OF WESTERN EUROPE, edited by D. H. Thomas and Lynn M. Case (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959. xii + 389 pp. \$7.50) was put together as a *Festschrift* in honour of Professor William E. Lingelbach, but has greater unity than is usual in such compilations. The diplomatic archives of thirteen European countries (but not those of Turkey, Russia, and the Iron Curtain countries) are described, together with those of the Vatican City, Bavaria, the League of Nations and United Nations, and the UNESCO documentation. There are also two good sections on newspaper archives and the sources for the study of public opinion. The chapters vary very much in detail, but each is expertly handled, usually with sections on the history of the archives, organization, classification, and bibliography. They are by no means confined to foreign office materials. The chapter on Great Britain is particularly comprehensive in this respect, and calls attention to a wide range of the private papers of ambassadors and foreign secretaries and other relevant material in repositories throughout the country. There are some dramatic stories, of which the successful evacuation of the Belgian archives to Carnarvon Castle in May 1940 is typical. The much briefer chapter on Norway does not, however, mention the swift and successful removal of vital Norwegian documents across the frontier in April. The book will be an indispensable *vade-mecum* for diplomatic historians for many years to come.

London School of Economics

W. N. MEDLICOTT

LOCAL HISTORY IN ENGLAND. By W. G. Hoskins. London: Longmans. 1959.
viii + 196 pp. 21s.

No man is more competent to give sound advice to the local historian than Dr. Hoskins, and in this book he gives it in good measure pressed down and overflowing. Though he says he writes only for the amateur and beginner, there will be few experienced or professional local historians who will not derive profit as well as pleasure from his pages. The book falls into three sections, one on village history, one on the history of the country town, and a third on field work and the publication of results.

On all these topics Dr. Hoskins offers sound advice and much practical guidance as to the materials the local historian should use, and where he will find them. One thread runs through all three sections, his emphasis on the need to keep in mind the fact that local history deals—or should deal—with a living community. His advice to use maps and to walk the country or town is a salutary reminder for some local historians that local history is more than books and records; and he offers good advice on the recording of houses, though here he might have referred his readers to the works of Dr. Margaret Wood and Sir Cyril Fox. His advice to the beginner to start in the nineteenth century and work backwards is, I think, very sound. Far too many local historians try to begin with such texts as Domesday. At the same time it should be said that Dr. Hoskins seems to me to play down the difficulties of local history. He joins issue with Mr. Pugh on the need for the local historian to know Latin, and implies that the non-Latinist will easily find someone, not, be it noted, the local archivist, to translate any Latin records for him. This may go for the odd charter, though a classical scholar would probably find it difficult, but all the medieval records of the village or town are in Latin, and how is anyone ignorant of Latin to under-

take transcription? No; the best advice to the non-Latinist is that he must learn Latin, or confine himself to the period from 1700, and even there such documents as recoveries and indictments will harass him. Again, too, he merely refers his reader to Miss Grieve's *Examples of English Handwriting*, certainly a valuable work for the beginner, but only as a starting point, and he might with advantage have suggested some of the more expensive and elaborate works like Johnson and Jenkinson. There is no more point in belittling the difficulty of local history than in exaggerating it. Under competent guidance people can learn to read Tudor hand in a few weeks. But what takes much longer is to grasp the significance of a record, and this brings me to what I consider the major omission in Dr. Hoskins' book. He assumes, but nowhere emphasizes, the need for the local historian to be well grounded in English history. Surely it is here that the real distinction appears between the antiquarian and the local historian. Only a knowledge of the wider aspects of history can indicate the best lines of enquiry. If the local historian is to approach his theme with the right questions in mind, he must know enough general history to see where the gaps in our knowledge are. One cannot sufficiently emphasize this in teaching local history.

Naturally experts will occasionally disagree with some of the author's suggestions. For example, though Ballard's *Domesday Survey* may be better for the beginner than Maitland, anyone who is working north of the Wash would find Sir Frank Stenton's introduction to the *Lincolnshire Domesday* more valuable than either. Also some would certainly recommend Denholm-Young's *Seigniorial Administration* as a far better guide to the complexities of manorial accounts than Miss Page's *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*. One omission that might be set right in a subsequent edition is that the reader is not warned that repairs to a nave and chancel are the responsibility of different bodies, and there is a slip on p. 61 where we are told that the Louth churchwardens' accounts cover the complete rebuilding of the church. But these are minor blemishes. By and large this is the most stimulating book on the craft of the local historian that has been written for years.

University of Hull

F. W. BROOKS

CANVEY ISLAND: THE HISTORY OF A MARSHLAND COMMUNITY by Basil E. Cracknell (Leicester University Press. 1959. 47 pp. 12s.) was awarded the John Nichols Prize in 1958. This paper assembles for the first time a great deal of scattered and useful information on the island, from a wide range of sources. It is a pity that this material is not always reliably handled. Too often the author allows himself to make assumptions which in some cases are demonstrably untrue; for example, that Canvey 'must have been one of the earliest coastal marshes to come under the plough'—whereas the Dagenham marshes were being cultivated in 1321, three hundred years before Canvey was reclaimed, and there is plenty of evidence, some of it in print, of other parts of Thames-side being cultivated in the Middle Ages and sixteenth century. The sources of the facts given have not always been carefully enough used; the major inundation quoted as occurring on 16 February 1735, should be placed in 1736, as the documents recording it used old style dating; Camden's important description of the island before Croppenburgh undertook its reclamation was not written in 1586, but twenty years later—that particular passage was not added to *Britannia* until the last edition of 1607.

The revised standards adopted for the Essex River Board's sea walls after the 1953 disaster provided for increasing the height of the walls in relation not to their previous height but to the height of the 1953 tide. The paper should be used with caution.

Essex Record Office, Chelmsford

HILDA GRIEVE

THEORIES OF HISTORY (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press. 1959. London: Allen and Unwin. 1960. 549 pp. 60s.) is edited with Introduction and commentaries by Patrick Gardiner. It is divided into two parts, the first containing extracts from philosophies of history and the second from contemporary philosophers who have written about history. That philosophies of history have nothing to do with the historians' history is well known. It is however interesting to discover that modern philosophers have only trivialities to contribute to the understanding of the historian's activity. For a serious discussion of this it is perhaps not unnatural that we should have to turn to historians themselves, for instance in the volume *Varieties of History* edited by F. Stern. The weakness of *Theories of History* is not to be attributed to the editor, who has provided clear and competent introductions, but to the aridity of the material on which he has drawn. There is also a long but rather unselective bibliography.

The style of **BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT: AN ESSAY ON HISTORY** (Yale University Press: O.U.P. 1958. xxix + 329 pp. 40s.), by Nathan Rotenstreich, presents unnecessary difficulties to the reader. It is worth struggling with, however, because this is really a very thoughtful and original work. It has particularly valuable sections on the relations of history and social science, and on the application of the principle of causality in history.

IN NATIONALISM (London: Hutchinson. 1960. 151 pages. 21s.) Elie Kedaurie first traces the intellectual roots of the theory in German thought of the early nineteenth century, and then discusses critically the theory in the light of its application, particularly in the Near East. Within the scope of these topics this is a thoughtful and interesting book.

A revised edition of **A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA** (London: Stevens and Sons, Atlantic Books. 1960. xiii + 520 pp. 50s.) by Georg von Rauch, noticed *ante*, xlivi. 162-3, has been issued.

Lawrence Wright's **CLEAN AND DECENT: THE FASCINATING HISTORY OF THE BATHROOM AND THE W.C.** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1960. xii + 282 pp. 30s.) contains much surprising and unusual information and many illustrations. It could be employed in courses on social history.

A useful addition to the 'Que sais-je?' series is **LA NOBLESSE** (Paris: Presses Universitaires. 1959. 128 pp.) by Ph. du Puy de Clerichamps.

THE CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH PLACE-NAMES by Eilert Ekwall was published twenty-four years ago. For the fourth edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1960. li + 546 pp. 50s.) the author has completely revised this well known work of reference.

A collection of documents reproduced in fifty plates, with transcripts, taken from the diocesan records of York and illustrating the relation of the Church and the schools, has been published by Canon J. S. Purvis in **EDUCATIONAL RECORDS** (York: St. Anthony's Press. 1959. 109 pp. 30s.). The plates are not given in chronological order but the majority fall into the century 1650–1750.

Mr. R. A. Skelton, Superintendent of the Map Room of the British Museum, had the happy idea of collecting the maps which influenced early explorers in their travels and joining with them the maps which the explorers made (to influence subsequent explorers). His **EXPLORERS' MAPS** (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1958. 337 pp. 219 illus. 63s.) effectively combines some two hundred map-reproductions in half-tone—of which the average quality is high—with a brief, lucid and effective expository text. Historians and geographers will find it equally absorbing. It should certainly be in every school library, though the price is rather high for some.

THE PRINTED MAPS OF WARWICKSHIRE 1576–1900 (Warwick: Warwickshire County Council and University of Birmingham. 1959. x + 279 pp. 30s.) consists of two parts. Mr. P. D. A. Harvey provides a catalogue of 135 maps of the county since Saxton's map of 1576, with a detailed description of each. In an introductory section of fifty-two pages, Dr. Harry Thorpe provides an interesting commentary on the maps. The volume, which has twelve plates, is excellently produced, and will be essential to all who are interested in the history of the county.

IN HAILEYBURY SINCE ROMAN TIMES (The Book Room, Haileybury College, Hertford, or W. H. Smith & Sons. 1959. 204 pp. 16s.) Mrs. C. M. Matthews has not only put all Old Haileyburians under her debt, but has added an interesting and well documented chapter to the history of Hertfordshire. She traces the story of the school site from prehistoric times and solves many minor topographical puzzles. The book is well produced and a special word of commendation is due to the illustrations and maps.

Walsall, incorporated by royal charter in 1627, has an enviable wealth of records from that century onwards. Earlier records run from Henry II's grant of the manor *circa* 1159. These have been widely used by E. J. Home-shaw to write the history of **THE CORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH AND FOREIGN OF WALSALL** (Walsall: County Borough of Walsall. 1960. xii + 188 pp. 25s.) up to 1835. Heavily condensed though it is, any reader of town histories will be glad of it. Excellent documentation opens the door for later research into points too telescoped to be easily understood at a first reading.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SCOTTISH LEGAL HISTORY, by various authors (Edinburgh: The Stair Society. 1958. xviii + 499 pp.) is a collection of articles of wide range but uneven quality. This well printed volume will certainly have its uses, but its main purpose is neither self-evident nor explained in the introduction. Though its literary director initials an editorial note, the book's failure to state by whom it was edited makes it hard to

apportion responsibility for inconsistencies and weaknesses which could have been eliminated. We badly need a history of Scots law, but whether this work is a step in that direction is doubtful.

THE OFFICE OF LORD HIGH COMMISSIONER, by Stewart Mechie (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1957. xvi + 63 pp. 10s. 6d.) is a brief but informed account of the office through which the sovereign has been represented at the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland since *circa* 1580.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

Dudley McCarthy: **SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC AREA—FIRST YEAR. KOKODA TO WAU.** (Australia in the War of 1939–1945.) Canberra: Australian War Memorial; London: Angus and Robertson. 1959. xiv + 656 pp. illus. maps. 30s.

Manly Wade Wellman: **THE COUNTY OF WARREN, NORTH CAROLINA, 1586–1917.** North Carolina University Press: O.U.P. 1960. xiii + 282 pp. 48s.

R. T. Rundle Clark: **MYTH AND SYMBOL IN ANCIENT EGYPT.** London: Thames and Hudson. 1960. 292 pp. illus. 30s.

Bertram Osborne: **JUSTICES OF THE PEACE, 1361–1848: A HISTORY OF THE JUSTICES OF THE PEACE FOR THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.** Shaftesbury: Sedgehill Press. 1960. 254 pp. 26s.

Oliver Warner: **EMMA HAMILTON AND SIR WILLIAM.** London: Chatto and Windus. 1960. 223 pp. 25s.

Martti Kerkkonen: **PETER KALM'S NORTH AMERICAN JOURNEY: ITS IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND AND RESULTS.** (Studia Historica I.) Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society. 1959. 260 pp. \$3.50.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler: **EARLY INDIA AND PAKISTAN TO ASHOKA.** (Ancient Peoples and Places.) London: Thames and Hudson. 1959. 241 pp. illus. 25s.

Ernst Stutz: **OSWALD SPENGLER ALS POLITISCHER DENKER.** Bern: Francke Verlag. 1958. 279 pp. Sw. fr. 16.80.

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